DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 065 207 RC 006 144

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TITLE Goodby to Yesterday: Talent Development in a Changing Era.
INSTITUTION Illinois State Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, Springfield. Gifted Children Section.; Illinois Univ., Urbana. Center for Instructional Research and Curriculum Evaluation.
PUB DATE 71
NOTE 262p.

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.65 HC-$9.87
DESCRIPTORS Community Planning; Community Role; *Decision Making; Economic Development; *Governmental Structure; Recreation; Religious Factors; Research Methodology; *Rural Areas; *School Community Cooperation; Services; Social Factors; *Sociology; Transportation

ABSTRACT

The setting for this school-community study is Effingham, Illinois. Chosen as a prototype of rural America, Effingham is emerging as a rapidly-growing center of economic, political, and social activity. Through structured interviews and personal interactions, the evaluator has obtained information to describe the community in terms of its historical background, current issues, and future plans. The role of educational institutions in fashioning an improved educational and social environment is discussed. This school-community study will continue along the lines of testing the viability of a belief that local school districts, given access to appropriate human and material resources, can productively engage in community development efforts. (JH)

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Goodbye

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To Jimmy Flynn of Sterling, Illinois,

who would have been a talented person

in any era.

The cover sketch was done by Jill Williamson, a member of the Rhetoric IV class, Effingham High School, 1971.

GOODBYE TO YESTERDAY: Talent Development in a Changing Era

The report of a school-community study conducted by Gordon Hoke, The Center for Instructional Research and Curriculum Evaluation (CIRCE), College of Education, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

in cooperation with

The Gifted Children Section, Department for Exceptional Children, Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, Springfield, Illinois. Dr. Michael J. Bakalis, Superintendent.

FOREWORD

It is impossible to conduct a school-community study without the generous cooperation of host institutions and local residents. Students, teachers, administrators, and board members of Effingham Unit District No. 40, Effingham, Illinois were extremely kind to me. So were their counterparts associated with parochial schools. Rural farmers joined with inhabitants of the town to extend every opportunity for an outsider to inquire, to learn.

The children, young people, and adults living within the area encompassed by District 40's geographical boundaries made important contributions to this work. Limitations and deficiencies appearing in the contents can be traced back to the inability of the author and project investigator to translate valuable information into meaningful patterns of communication.

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PREFACE

In a statement prepared for the Report of the National Goals Research Staff, Daniel Moynihan described the need for a type of evaluation that "predicts results rather than simply measuring them." Evaluation in advance, he submitted, is

> a large, challenging, promising goal--a goal which if seriously pursued, holds out the prospect of a system of self-government that grows increasingly meaningful as citizens are asked to make choices among options that are not partially, or even deceptively, but fully described by governments which thereafter can be held just as fully accountable.[1]

The study described in the following pages attempts to honor the two premises established by Moynihan--viz., development of evaluation as a predictive tool and the idea that freedom in an urban society is choice among options. Readers are warned to proceed with caution, however, for

> a century ago the Swiss historian Jacob Burckhardt foresaw that ours would be the age of the 'great simplifiers,' and that the essence of tyranny was the denial of complexity. He was right. This is the single greatest temptation of the time. It is the great corrupter, and must be resisted with purpose and energy.[2]

Robert Stake has outlined the personal and professional dilemma confronting the outside observer who tries to evaluate and anticipate results--and to pay homage to Burckhardt's ominous prophecy.

> What am I measuring? I have lost the sense that there is any 'the way it is.' What is only seems to be. That I can measure more accurately and reliably and verifiably does not mean that I am measuring what is. In fact, by de-emphasizing temporal

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[1]Daniel P. Moynihan, "Counsellor's Statement"; Toward Balanced Growth: Quantity with Quality, Report of the National Goals Research Staff (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Govt. Printing Office, 1970), pp. 14-15.

[2]A passage written by Daniel Moynihan as quoted in an informal statement prepared by Robert Stake, Center for Instructional Research and Curriculum Evaluation (CIRCE), University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana, April, 1971, p. 1.

impressions, clinical judgments--those personal determinants of the world--I am withdrawing from the challenge of measuring what is. What they see and feel is what is.[3]

My measurements are not the first approximation of truth; they are choices I make as to how to clothe the truth. It is another case of the Emperor's clothes--with the minor switch that it is the Emperor who is invisible and it is only the clothes that are seen.

Have my measurements no more purpose than to stimulate my fellow specialists and to delude all others? I think so. There is a purpose. It is a purpose seldom recognized, seldom honored. I think measurements help counter that onrush of The Great Simplification.

Philosophers and technologists are colleagues in The Great Simplification. Only observations stand in their way. Data occasionally support an idea, often not; never do they confirm an idea. Sometimes they, simplifiers, use research data to argue a point. But the principal effect of research--as we see it today in education--is to deny the validity of the hypothesis. Measurements always say, 'No, it is not quite like that.' Measurements are new seeds of doubt.

. . .

I see measurements as vital to this world, not because they tell us what is truth but because they keep the other sides of truth alive.[4] (all italics in original)

Those of us who have had the privilege of working with Bob Stake are greatly influenced by his strong sense of moral purpose and personal integrity. I have tried to honor those ideals in describing my year in Effingham, Illinois. There is information in my notes that does not appear in these pages because its potential value to a reader, in the

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[3]The same problem is treated in Issues in Participant-Observation, ed. by George J. McCall and J. L. Simmons (New York: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1969). The introduction states: "It makes little sense for us to belittle these less rigorous methods as 'unscientific.' We will do better to study them and the techniques they involve so that we can make better use of them in producing scientific information."

[4]Stake, Op. Cit., pp. 1-2.

writer's judgment, is outweighed by possible detrimental consequences for adults and young people in the community.

Residents of Effingham do not possess truth; but I learned from them. It <u>is</u> important--as Bob Stake noted--to keep all sides of truth alive. <u>Goodbye to Yesterday</u> is an attempt to respond to that challenge. It should also be regarded as a tribute to people trying earnestly to combat the complexities of our age.

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Summer, 1970

The school-community described in the following pages began as a small-scale effort. In July of 1970, the Center for Instructional Research and Curriculum Evaluation, University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana (hereafter cited by its acronym CIRCE) completed a year of work with the Gifted Program Development Section, Department for Exceptional Children, Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, by conducting a series of interviews with students and townspeople in Effingham, Illinois. A number of specific reasons dictated the choice of Effingham, and they are discussed in Chapter 2. At this point it is sufficient to state that the area is emerging as a rapidly-growing center of economic, political, and social activity, and we believe it is destined to become a prototype of the regional sites that will characterize rural America in the closing years of the twentieth century.[1]

During July and August approximately sixty people were interviewed for periods ranging from thirty minutes to over one hour. In addition, informal exchanges were held with over one hundred other respondents. Included in the sampling were students, parents, teachers, student

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[1]A noted research administrator has suggested that major emphasis should be placed on ". . . problems that have both theoretical reference and practical relevance." (T.R. McConnell, Research or Development: A Reconciliation; A Monograph (Bloomington, Indiana: Phi Delta Kappa, International, 1967, p. 9). My own limitations in obtaining, processing, and interpreting data should not obscure the obviously rich lore of research problems inherent in an area such as Effingham.

teachers, administrators, and non-academic personnel. Individuals supported by public welfare funds were questioned as were wealthy residents. A concerted effort was made to obtain a truly representative cross-section of students enrolled in high schools, junior colleges, and universities, including both Catholic and public school members.

Two local informants served as resource people in the early stages of our work; one represented the schools; the other acted as a bridge to the community. Both were natives of the region. The community liaison person once operated a local business, was now attached to a political-administrative office, and was a member of the Catholic Church. Her male counterpart was born and raised in the rural area surrounding Effingham and has risen from the ranks of teaching to a top-level administrative position in Effingham Community Unit School District No. 40.

I started with the list of names they gave me, and then added to it by cross-checking with these respondents. For example, I asked of a high school senior from the countryside who worked as a student aide in the principal's office: "Tell me of someone in your area who is bright, but cares little for school and whose record isn't strong." Her reply resulted in the formation of one of my most effective and rewarding contacts among the students.

Four questions were asked in the formal interviews.

1) In your opinion, what is talent?

2) What type(s) of talent do you believe are most needed in America today? Does Effingham have the same needs?

3) What should be done to help develop such talents?

4) What can schools do with respect to developing talent?

An analysis of the initial stage of activity in Effingham is entitled Talent Development in a Changing Era. (It can be obtained by writing to CIRCE.) Certain results of the study appear throughout this report, but the most crucial elements of the initial involvement in Effingham were the base it provided for future activities and the lessons I learned with respect to rephrasing and sharpening questions. This need was underscored by the intent to work with a broad range of community residents, with people who rarely if ever had been asked to respond to a university interviewer. In one of my first intra-CIRCE memos concerning observations in Effingham, I reported: "People are articulate. There is a need, though, to rephrase and sharpen questions when a vertical slice of the community is involved."

I tried to maintain ties with the original respondents throughout the year. For the most part I was successful. This action provided a type of reliability check on information gained from interviews, observations, and reading; furthermore, it forced me to constantly assess my own behavior--a critical need.

> Just as a spring scale becomes fatigued with use, reading 'heavier' a second time, an interviewer may also measure differently at different times. His skill may increase. He may be better able to establish rapport. He may have learned necessary vocabulary. He may loaf or become bored. He may have increasingly strong expectations of what a respondent 'means' and code differently with practice. Some errors relate to recording accuracy, while others are linked to the nature of the interviewer's interpretation of what transpired. Either way, there is always the risk that the interviewer will be a variable filter over time and experience.[2]

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[2]Eugene J. Webb and Others, Unobtrusive Measures: Nonreactive Research in the Social Sciences (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1966), p. 22.

My normal behavior in school-community work is to operate as unobtrusively as possible. However, in Effingham, primarily because of a desire that people approach me with their complaints, questions, etc., and not officials of the two school systems, I tried to get my name and face closely identified with the study.[3] Consequently, I believed, the acts carried out in the execution of that study should be muted. The caution expressed in the passage above thus assumed additional significance. Interviewing can become an exhausting task, particularly if it consumes the major part of the day. Interactions with reluctant or uncertain interviewees placed a premium on alertness to voice, body, and facial cues for they were helpful in re-designing questions, seizing upon apparent leads, and the like. In some cases, wives insisted on interviewing me before they would agree to let me return for an evening session with their husbands. I deliberately chose not to rely on use of the phone. Conversations on important issues, in my opinion, demand face to face exchanges. Part of this belief, admittedly, is a personal uneasiness about intruding into people's lives without giving them a chance to first react to me. Overall, I believe in and act on intuitive feelings. Hunches, first impressions, the way I feel about people and events--these are the forces that guide much of my activity. I trust my perceptions and believe my biggest mistakes occur when I fail to honor them.

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[3]The manager of the local radio station had warned me that "people are somewhat fearful of responding to surveys. They're afraid their names will go on "some list.'" He had encountered this type of response while fulfilling an FCC requirement for community appraisal of the station's public service commitment.

A Volatile Year

CIRCE has been a charter member of an organization created by the U. S. Office of Education to link the academic disciplines to teacher training endeavors. Formally designated as the Consortium of Professional Associations for Study of Special Teacher Improvement Programs, CONPASS launched a wide variety of training programs and related enterprises. As part of its commitment, CIRCE capitalized on the Talent Development study by engaging in an examination of school-community issues in Effingham. I served as director of the project, which was essentially a one-man operation.

CONPASS ended its official existence on June 30, 1971. Like many of its predecessors as well as its contemporaries in the field of educational change, this organization failed to accomplish most of its major goals. Nevertheless, programs begun under its leadership are forming the new coalitions so essential to building a support system for future change efforts. The study in Effingham, originally viewed as holding great potential value because of the region's obvious economic growth, had at least three unexpected outcomes.

1. Professional negotiations over salary and other matters between the classroom teachers organization (ECTA) and the school board and administration climaxed with extremely heated exchanges in April and May. While I had anticipated that negotiations might become a major issue during the year, I was not prepared for the polarization that occurred.

2. The wisdom of granting public aid to parochial schools has been a national topic of discussion in recent years. In 1971, the dual school

systems of Effingham, where forty per cent of the students attend Catholic institutions, were indirectly involved in a statewide debate over the same topic. This activity culminated in the passage of parochial aid legislation by the Illinois General Assembly in June; ironically, a week later the Supreme Court ruled against programs of public support for parochial education in Rhode Island and Pennsylvania.

3. Manpower supply and demand in education became a critical problem in the United States during 1970-71. Since Effingham is a major training base for practice teachers, it furnished numerous occasions for exchanges with prospective teachers, and their comments gave a poignant and personal touch to a frequently abstract economic condition.

Above all, perhaps, the year in Effingham provided a rare opportunity to test the feasibility of acting as a change agent-evaluator in a period of shifting trends in education and in the larger society. I was also given the chance to examine the demands of meaningful school-university liaisons at a time when both institutions are experiencing adversity of all forms.

An Advocate of Change

Facing the Consequences

In a chapter appropriately entitled "The Beginning of a New Profession," the anthropologist Ward Goodenough analyzed the problems confronting agents of change. From time to time, he noted, some of them have developed ingenious approaches to their tasks, but these ideas are not communicated to others in the field. Goodenough views this absence of worthwhile dialogue as a "lack of professionalism among agents of

change in their roles as such," adding that several factors contribute to this deficiency.[4]

> The present state of knowledge is inadequate; what is known is poorly disseminated; and administrators and development agents are unwilling or unable to undertake the sometimes drastic modifications of their own established attitudes and habits that are required if present knowledge is to be successfully applied.

My greatest concern on the eve of the work in Effingham was whether or not I could still make it with students. I left the public school classroom in 1963 and had not maintained contacts over time with adolescents since that year. It was quickly apparent that an open display of honesty was required in dealing with high school students. Such behavior became critical throughout the year, particularly during the weeks of collective bargaining, for I tried to serve as a resource person for both sides as well as a "trouble-shooter" for the entire district.

In my opinion, Goodenough's admonition about the need for erstwhile change agents to face the consequences of their own intents is vital. A succinct and powerful statement along the same line appears in a description of public health efforts in the Detroit ghetto. "Those who would involve others . . . in the process of healthful change," wrote the author, "must themselves be involved. The one who would change others must himself be changed."[5]

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[4]Ward H. Goodenough, Cooperation in Change: An Anthropological Approach to Community Development (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1965), pp. 24-25.

[5]Nancy Milo, 9226 Kercheval: The Storefront That Did Not Burn (Ann Arbor, Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 1969); as reviewed by Burleigh Hines, Jr., Chicago Sun-Times.

Entry Requirements

Work in the schools demands more than willingness to adapt, however, and the knowledge base to which Goodenough refers is also invaluable. Ronald Lippitt's observations concerning the training of "research utilization agents" have been confirmed in my experiences. His warning that preparation for this specialized task "requires a grounding both in behavioral science disciplines and in professional values and technology" is critical.[6] I also firmly believe that two other issues stand out as illustrations of Goodenough's critique. First, much of the literature on change efforts deals with elementary schools, and my work to date--in Effingham and in other regions--strongly suggests that it is easier to function as a change advocate in that context.[7] Some of the reasons for

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[6]Ronald Lippitt, "The Use of Social Research to Improve Social Practice," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, V. 35, No. 4 (July, 1965), (mimeo reprint).

[7]A more detailed discussion of the author's experiences in the broad realm of "change agentry" appears in Linking Research to Practice: Personal Observations on an Old Theme. (Originally prepared as a working paper for CIRCE, 1969-70, it is now indexed in Research in Education.) Seymour B. Sarason's The Culture of the School and the Problem of Change (New York: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1971) is an excellent treatment of major issues in educational change but it draws upon associations with elementary classrooms. Neal Gross is one of the few scholars who have raised serious questions about the lack of systematic analysis of differences in social structure between the elementary and the secondary school. However, his concern focused on the significance of these differences for socialization of youth. (See "The Sociology of Education," Sociology Today: Problems and Prospects [New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1959], p. 134). Another sociologist who has spent much of his career observing the interaction between schools and other elements of communities is Warner Bloomberg, Jr., currently Professor of Urban Affairs at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. He submits that, despite "...a multitude of demonstration projects and experiments, the vast majority of schools remain unchanged, and the high schools and junior highs are the most refractory to any fundamental innovations." ("The Missing Dimensions of the School Social Worker's Role: Advocate and Reformer," Patterns for Innovative Practice, La Grange, Illinois: School Social Work Conference, 1967, p. 70.)

this belief appear later, but the greater emphasis on subject matter specialization combines with a different type of institutional structure to present formidable barriers at the secondary level. Second, it is extremely difficult to win acceptance from administrators or teachers if one has not actually had public school experience. As an aside, the fact that I was able to act as a substitute teacher was an invaluable aid for satisfying informal requirements as well as providing an avenue to reach students. It is possible to cooperate with schools in mutually rewarding endeavors without possessing previous experience in that setting, as Seymour Sarason and his associates have documented.[8] Nevertheless, I remain convinced that my record of public school experience made it possible for me to enter the school-community arena, and that much of what ensued would not have taken place had I not possessed this background. In preparation for the assignment, I revised my Vita, stressing its elements of public school involvement, for review by board members and administrators prior to the first meeting with them.

Working Guidelines

From the outset I tried to pattern my behavior in Effingham along lines suggested by Art Gallaher, Jr. in "The Role of the Advocate and Directed Change."[9] This model, Gallaher submits,

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[8]Seymour Sarason and Others, Psychology in Community Settings: Clinical, Educational, Vocational, Social Aspects (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1966).

[9]Art Gallaher, Jr., "The Role of the Advocate and Directed Change," Media and Educational Innovation, ed. by W. C. Meierhenry (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1964), pp. 33-40.

> defines the advocate's role as one concerned mainly with creating a climate conducive to acceptance; the view of the culture change is global. Acceptance is to be achieved, but the processes of acceptance are accorded signal importance. A basic premise underlying the role is that plans for the future grow out of the present and that often they must incorporate what has been established in the past. (Italics added)

Gallaher's description subsumes the two critical dimensions of my dual role in Effingham--i.e., the intent to act as an advocate of change within a particularly dynamic community context and to utilize evaluation of the results of that activity as a means of predicting future trends. The implicit assumptions in trying to fulfill such demands are cited by Michael Scriven.[10]

> In what sense is the evaluator a 'change agent' and to what extent he is, if any, what can be extracted from a change-agent theory that would be useful in training evaluators and for practicing evaluators?
>
> A more general concern is the extent to which the evaluator is or should self-consciously be a moral agent and the extent to which his knowledge of moral theory and analytical procedures should therefore be greater than one can expect from every citizen.[11] (Italics in original)

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[10] Michael Scriven, "Current Problems in Philosophy and Practice of Evaluation," June, 1971 (informal memo). Scriven's questions assume greater significance when the observer notes a comment that "contemporary social science is increasingly giving adherence to an interventionist mode of thought. In economics, political science, anthropology, interventionist models are becoming dominant . . . ." Lewis S. Feuer, "Causality in the Social Sciences," Cause and Effect, ed. by Daniel Lerner (New York: The Free Press, 1965), p. 191.

[11] This writer sees a close relationship between Scriven's concerns as expressed above, and the basic theme of Pedagogy of the Oppressed. For example, Freire writes: "No pedagogy which is truly liberating can remain distant from the oppressed by treating them as unfortunates and by presenting for their emulation models from among the oppressors." Paulo Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed (New York: Herder and Herder, 1970), p. 39.

It is my belief that efforts to change the schools cannot be effective without vertical involvement of staff, students, and administrators, on the one hand, and horizontal involvement encompassing elements of the community on the other hand. Schools are pivotal social institutions. Unless the enormity of their central place in modern society is grasped, there is real danger that both praise and criticism, problems and possibilities, will be misunderstood.[12] Hence, the necessity to view change in global terms.

Any rational attempt to use evaluation as a means for predicting results, as Moynihan has urged,[13] surely must rely on the premise that past and present influence the future, particularly in the case of social institutions and exceedingly so, charge a variety of critics, with respect to schools. For example, a renowned scholar in international education declares:

> . . . In education, more than in most things, we tend to be prisoners of present circumstances and recent history. We have learned the 'language' of our home and environment; we have cherished its priorities and taboos; we have exercised ourselves continuously in its ways of perceiving and administering human affairs; and (in order to be what we are now) we have stamped ourselves with others' approval by passing examinations and

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[12]"There was a time, after all, when education didn't matter so much to most people, but today, education is a key to power and influence in our society. Who controls it and who has access to it and how much of it, is a very, very important question, and anything that important is political. So I think we're going to see education more political in the years ahead, not less. . . . Politics is, after all, the highest art of democracy." An exerpt from a series of statements by Norman D. Kurland regarding the Ocean Hill-Brownsville confrontation in New York City, 1968; as reported in Why Teachers Strike: Teachers' Rights and Community Control, ed. by Melvin I. Urofsky (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, 1970), p. 68.

[13]Moynihan, Op. Cit., pp. 14-15.

> being admitted to the prospect of responsible employment. The same is true of all readers of this book. We are thus in some measure prisoners of our educational idioms.[14]

Yet fiscal problems and social changes are combining to furnish new leverage for instituting reforms in Effingham schools as well as their counterparts across the nation and throughout the world. Again, Gallaher suggests valuable guidelines to follow. Noting that this approach, which he identifies with "pragmatic advocates," is committed to the idea that success or failure depends mainly on the proponent's understanding of the context in which he is working, Gallaher states:

> If an advocate seeks to modify the role of the school administrator, that role must first be perceived as a function of the formal organization of the school system, the linkages of the school with other groups in the community, the expectations such groups have of the administrator, and the status personality demanded of the person in his role of administrator.[15]

The relevance of this passage was starkly revealed during 1970-71 in Effingham. A new superintendent was on the scene, following a long term by his predecessor, and was quickly enmeshed in professional negotiations with a teachers organization in its embryonic stages. Much of the resultant conflict underscored the merits of Gallaher's warning, although I would add that the way in which an incumbent views his role as superintendent is also vital.

According to Gallaher, pragmatic advocates believe that lasting change is best accomplished when it is perceived as stemming from internal growth rather than from without. My usual behavior is to operate in a

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[14]Edmund J. King, "Changing Perspectives in the Educational Process," The Teacher and the Needs of Society in Evolution, ed. by Edmund J. King (New York: Pergamon Press, 1970), p. 4.

[15]Gallaher, Op. Cit., p. 33.

manner congruent with that goal, as noted previously; but--for a number of reasons, many of which are treated later--I chose to function in a highly "visible" fashion in Effingham.[16] The ethical demands of working as an evaluator-change agent within a school-community setting were so powerful that they called for different behaviors on my part. It quickly became apparent, as one illustration, that I would have to earn the respect of community residents as a person, not solely as a professional.

Gallaher's stress on acknowledging the crucial importance of values in change efforts translates operationally into work--hard, enduring, but exciting work. My experiences in Effingham left me with the indelible impression that knowledge of value systems: mine, others, the schools'--can be acquired only through long hours of observation, discussion, and reflection. For me, it meant an early arrival at school to drink coffee with janitors and physical plant employees; skipping lunch to rap with students in the "rec-room"; participating in late afternoon sessions at the Elks Club bar; and evenings writing up notes, or reading local sources, or meeting with parents, or engaging in conversation with

[16]The Effingham Daily News gave valuable aid in realizing this goal. The managing editor wrote excellent summaries of material given to the board and printed them in his column on page 1. On August 12, 1970, for example, he led off by asking: "Who or What is CIRCE?" He then gave our complete title followed by a lucid and succinct account of our mission in the city.

Effingham's version of hippies, who congregate on the county courthouse lawn.[17]

Work is a prized ethic in rural Illinois. I was born and raised about fifty miles north of Effingham, and grew up in an environment which held to the same code. I've emphasized my small-town background whenever assignments have taken me into similar areas. As Gallaher points out: "It helps, for example, if those who sponsor change are also prestigious in ways that are valued by those whom they are trying to influence."[18] My visibility in the community helped convince residents I was working. Substitute teaching was especially valuable in this instance. My roots in Arthur gave me credibility as a person apart from the university affiliation, and the University of Illinois still commands respect and prestige despite the impact of campus riots on rural inhabitants. Furthermore, I attempted to serve as a resource person for teachers, administrators, students, and residents in ways that would convince them of my genuine interest in assisting the schools and the community.

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[17]These varied encounters are described in the following pages. In the process of my work in Effingham I relied on a methodology that is more descriptive and inductive than many experimental researchers are wont to accept. Changes occurring in this region, particularly those precipitated by the advent of major developments in transportation modes, represent a type of massive intervention, and I attempted to judge reactions of individuals, groups, and certain institutions, especially the schools, to this intervention. In the long run, of course, people in Effingham will make decisions on many of these same issues in terms of certain values just as value choices are implicit in the construction of interstate highways as opposed to creation of mass transit systems.

[18]Gallaher, Op. Cit., p. 36. The fact that I spent approximately twenty years as a trainer in athletics also represented an important asset.

Our original Statement of Purpose prepared for school officials stressed:

> We are seeking the privilege of working in the community of Effingham in association with its school personnel. We believe the study would provide extremely valuable information for decision-makers in both the parochial and the public school systems. (Italics in original)

The dual emphasis on quality of information and the submission of findings to decision-makers reinforced Gallaher's statements concerning the importance of value systems. He concludes this section of his work with a word of advice. "We do not help a friend," Gallaher cautions, "without first hearing of his problem and the overall cultural context which lends the problem its relevance."[19] He cites the words of Robert Redfield, especially the latter's suggestion that those intending to render assistance to others should develop a unique kind of hearing aid, one which enables advocates to detect the underlying meanings in the sounds of their own voices.[20] Perhaps readers

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[19] Ibid., pp. 39-40.

[20] An eloquent reminder to those of us who render judgments is contained in the remarks of Wilbur R. Nordos, an educator in New York who served as an acting trustee of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville Schools in 1968.

> You can't use the words as fully representing the reality of what people are talking about. I think it was Mark Twain who said, 'You must listen to the music as well as the words.' In emotion-laden conversation, you can often pin down the logic and the illogic, you see, but if you try to stay on a purely logical basis you can be completely off base. If you really want to communicate in such settings, you've got to listen for the feelings that are being expressed in these words and you respond to the feelings as well as the words. In human relationships, feelings are facts and you must realize how people feel, not the way they ought to feel by your view of the realities.

(footnote continued on next page)

will interpret this message as "Physician, heal thyself!" In any case, my intent from the start was to do my utmost to make change synonomous with improvement.

Basis for Judgments

Time

The major disadvantage of the pragmatic advocate model, concedes Gallaher, is "time."[21]

> The model requires an advocate to understand the system to be changed as completely as possible; this is fine until he is confronted with a sudden and unanticipated threat to a system, the kind that demands quick action in the form of innovation. Since the value system of the pragmatic advocate denies methodological expediency, he may find it hard to act, even though the demand for urgency comes only from the situation itself.

Any comparison of higher education and life in the public schools must allow for the sense of urgency, the "now" atmosphere in which the

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(footnote 20 continued) The ways we judge people and events reflect certain assumptions that we have taken for granted as being normative in our society, and we don't really question them. It's very difficult to question tenets that you don't know you have; they are so much a part of your habitual ways of evaluating persons and situations that you don't think they are subject to debate. And one of these habits is that we still tend to judge people mainly on the basis of economic criteria. If a person hasn't made it economically, this is an adverse judgment on him as a total person. He is a second-rate person, a second-rate citizen, because if he were a first-rate person, he wouldn't be poor.... Being poor does not of itself mean poor quality as a person. I think I knew this intellectually but I learned it viscerally and operationally. When you get to the point where you get past what I call the 'Adam Smith hangup,' then you encounter a poor person as a real person and see him more totally. (Urofsky, Op. Cit., pp. 290 and 292)

[21]Gallaher, Op. Cit., p. 40.

latter function. In addition to this ever-present condition, residents and students of Effingham live in a town and surrounding region in which time is being telescoped by the onrush of technological changes. Also, as indicated before, the school system was caught up in a series of bitter exchanges during 1970-71; the result was a classic example of Gallaher's "sudden and unanticipated threat." It affected my role in the community and its schools, making it even more visible and precarious--i.e., in terms of credibility to all factions--and I did alter some features of my behavior in response. To illustrate: I tried to become less "visible" in situations focusing on board-teacher issues.

Opportunities for Growth

Roger Barker has defined a setting as a place "where most of the inhabitants can satisfy a number of personal motives, where they can achieve multiple satisfactions: a setting contains opportunities.[22] (Italics added) His description is the one which guided my observations in Effingham, for Barker has since written that settings "can be entered by investigators and inspected and reinspected."[23] But there are other important dimensions of a setting that should be honored.

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[22]Roger G. Barker, Paul V. Crump, and Others, Big School, Small School: High School Size and Student Behavior (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1964), p. 22.

[23]Roger G. Barker, "Explorations in Ecological Psychology," American Psychologist, V. 20, No. 5 (January, 1965), p. 10. Barker's history of accomplishments lends credence to Egon Guba's warning that field studies must be conducted within an explicit theoretical or logical framework. Of special relevance for my work is Guba's assertion that such a framework "...gives the researcher a 'reason' to look in one place rather than another." (Egon Guba, "Methodological Strategies for Educational Change," as abstracted in SEC Newsletter on Strategies for Educational Change, The Ohio State University, July, 1966, pp. 1-4.)

Settings impose obligations upon their occupants, Barker submits, noting "these arise via the intrinsic structure of the setting and the inhabitants' perceptions thereof. . . ."[24] The transactions occurring in the course of collective bargaining between District 40 administrators and teachers, and their consequences for community life, illustrated this point all too well.

A recent publication entitled The Culture of the School and the Problem of Change is based on an analysis of "roles in settings." In the following passage prepared as part of a review by Melvin Tumin, the combination of quotations and content analysis both extends Barker's appraisal of settings and lends significance to its insights into school operations.

> Discarding the traditional psychological approach that directs one to look into 'teacher characteristics' for explanations of educational conduct, Sarason relies heavily upon a theory of 'roles in settings,' that is, upon the notion that there are structured interacting roles--teacher, student, principal, parent--involved in the educational transaction that takes place always in a tradition-dominated social setting. The actual on-site definitions of these roles (as against the ideal versions) shape the behavior of the participants and make them desirous of, or resistant to, change in accordance with their position in the school setting. The result is, as Sarason illustrates with case after case, is that the more things change, the more they remain the same.[25]

I too did not look for "teacher characteristics" as such; instead, my focus was on specific settings in the community and in the schools. I spend little time in elementary classrooms. Most of my school-centered

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[24] Ibid.

[25] Melvin B. Tumin, "Practical Theory for Change," review of Seymour B. Sarason's The Culture of the School and the Problem of Change, Saturday Review, V. 54, No. 21 (May 22, 1971), p. 70.

activity involved Effingham High School and the nearby offices of District 40; St. Anthony High School; and the kindergarten center.[26] Again, Barker's admonition that settings contain opportunities was useful: the transaction that provided an opportunity to observe others often gave them a chance to evaluate my actions. Or, as Sarason has noted, "What (I) think, however, is far less important than what teachers think, rightly or wrongly, if one is interested in bringing about changes--and this is what most innovators fail to realize.[27] (Italics in original)

Lingering Questions

The work in Effingham cast certain doubts on the viability of Barker's construct, useful and valuable as I found it to be.

Writing in Ecological Psychology, Barker indicates that he and his associates found they could predict some aspects of the children's behavior more accurately from the characteristics of settings than from knowledge of the behavior tendencies of particular children.[28] Moving beyond a definition of settings to a glimpse of the "environment of behavior," Barker proposes that this environment be viewed as comprised of "highly structured, improbable arrangements of objects and events that coerce behavior in accordance with their own dynamic patterning."[29]

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[26]I tried to spend 2-3 days a week in the Effingham area. During July and August of 1970 I spend virtually every day, Monday-Friday, in that setting; slackened off somewhat in October-December, and then picked up additional days from January through May of 1971.

[27]Seymour B. Sarason, "The School Culture and Processes of Change," The Henry H. Brechbill Lecture, University of Maryland, January 10, 1966, p. 6.

[28]Roger G. Barker and Others, Ecological Psychology (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1968.)

[29]Ibid., p. 4.

Earlier, he stated: "the primary link between settings and behavior is via the inhabitant's cognitions of the relations between goals and the routes the setting provides."[30]

There is ample evidence--both in Effingham and in every part of the nation--that people of all ages and ranks are resisting the coercion embodied in Barker's definition. Youth, in particular, objects to some of the goals and many of the routes furnished by their settings. There are mounting signs that much of this protest is shared--either overtly or covertly--by adults.

"It takes little imagination," writes E. Paul Torrance, "to begin thinking of environmental changes in schools, homes, and communities that would facilitate talent development. . . ."[31] True. It is going to require, however, a host of endeavors along many lines to bring imaginative ideas to fruition in a complex, interdependent society. Torrance adds that we need "immediately" capable individuals and units willing to explore "the role of environments as talent developers."[32] I have tried

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[30]Barker, Crump, and Others, Big School, Small School. . . , Op. Cit., pp. 22-23.

[31]E. Paul Torrance, "Broadening Concepts of Giftedness in the 70s," prepared for Northeast Regional Conference for the Gifted and Creative, November 5, 1970, New Haven, Connecticut (mimeo reprint, pp. 19-20).

[32]Ibid. Recent controversies surrounding the establishment of child development centers are a vivid illustration of the complexities inherent in dealing with special "environments." The issue assumes greater significance if one concurs with the following judgment. In a chapter entitled "New Directions in Academic Talent Hunting," the late Lyle Spencer of Science Research Associates wrote: "The new frontiers in educational talent hunting clearly lie in research among youngsters during their early school years." (Lyle Spencer, "New Directions in Academic Talent Hunting," in Working With Superior Students: Theories and Practice, ed. by Bruce Shertzer (Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1960, p. 13.)

to honor his charge in the work described in Goodbye to Yesterday. Further explorations of similar issues, I believe, will discover that Ralph Linton expressed some wise words of counsel when he wrote:

> The fact that most human behavior is taught in the form of organized configurations, rather than simply developed by the individual on the basis of experience, is of the utmost importance to personality studies. It means that the way in which a person responds to a particular situation often provides a better clue to what his teaching has been than to what his personality is. In general, all the individuals who occupy a given position in the structure of a particular society will respond to many situations in very much the same way. That any one individual of such a group manifests this response proves nothing about his personality except that he has normal learning ability. His personal predispositions will be revealed not by his culturally patterned responses but by his deviations from the culture pattern. It is not the main theme of his behavior but the overtones which are significant for understanding him as an individual.[33] (Italics added)

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[33]Ralph Linton, The Cultural Background of Personality (New York: D.-Appleton-Century-Company, Inc., 1945), pp. 25-26. (Reprinted by permission of Appleton-Century-Crofts, Educational Division, Meredith Corporation.) An updated version of the same advice suggests that "to describe need is not only to describe the something but to describe the persons asked. People see need differently." (Robert Stake, "Objectives, Priorities, and Other Judgment Data," Review of Educational Research: Educational Evaluation, V. 40, No. 2 (April, 1970), p. 198.

Chapter 2

AN ECOLOGICAL NICHE

Background

One of the leading figures in the "War on Poverty" movement launched at mid-point of the 1960s was Professor J. McVicker Hunt. His analysis of the relationships between intelligence and experience provided an intellectual foundation for the enthusiasm so prevalent in the early days of Head Start and Follow Through.[1] Most of us who were involved in the reform movements sponsored by the ESEA legislation of 1965 are now wiser--but sadder--people. Nevertheless, Hunt's emphasis on the need for an appropriate "match" between the individual and his environment continues to serve as a beacon to guide research and development.[2] His work, I believe, contains special directives for interpreting the information obtained in Effingham.

Citing the studies of Piaget, Hunt writes:

> Where the assumptions of both fixed intelligence and predetermined development appear to have presumed a kind of static fixity

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[1] J. McVicker Hunt, Intelligence and Experience (N.Y.: The Ronald Press Company, 1961.) It should be noted that Professor Hunt vigorously opposed the build-up of an air of great expectancy concerning the programs sponsored by domestic "wars." Speaking out against the haste of such attempts, he warned:

> What perturbs me is (the) tendency to confuse the justifiable hope that the competence of people from lower-class backgrounds can be changed with the basic scientific know-how required to plan broad-scale educational programs to do the job immediately. ("The Role of Experience in the Development of Intelligence," Invited Address for Psi Chi, Honorary Psychological Fraternity, Chicago, Illinois, May 6, 1967.) (Mimeo reprint, p. 2)

[2] Intelligence and Experience, Op. Cit., pp. 267-288.

> to the human personality and to intelligence, Piaget's observations and experiments indicate that the behavioral and thought structures comprising intelligence are continually changing as a consequence of the accommodation and assimilation involved in a person's encounters with his environment. Although a variety of implications can be pointed to and a variety of questions can be raised, it is relatively clear that experience, defined as the organism's encounters with his environment, is continually building into the developing human organism a hierarchy of operations for processing information and for coping with circumstances.[3] (Italics added)

Barker views these encounters as meaning that "the same environmental unit provides different inputs to different persons, and different inputs to the same person if his behavior changes. . . ."[4] Their joint emphasis on Piaget's belief that individuals change behavior as they assimilate new information from their environment raises at least three profound questions with respect to living and learning in Effingham.

1. What happens when the settings in which these "encounters" take place are caught up in a period of rapid change? Both Barker and Hunt view the interaction between individuals and their environments as manifestations of a stable order. Barker sees the setting as functioning in a "quasi-stationary" manner;[5] "individuals tend to remain within sets of social, economic, and educational circumstances which are relatively stable," declares Hunt.[6] However, the former stresses that "the whole program of the environment's inputs changes if its own ecological properties change, if it becomes more or less populous, for example."[7]

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[3]Ibid., pp. 246-247.

[4]Barker, American Psychologist, Op. Cit., p. 12.

[5]Barker, Big School, Small School. . ., Op. Cit., p. 23.

[6]Hunt, "The Role of Experience. . .," Op. Cit., p. 12

[7]Barker, American Psychologist, Op. Cit., p. 12.

This statement seems to be in accord with those of Hunt and others who encourage the belief that appropriate changes in the environment can induce greater learning and produce more competent individuals.

2. In a period when numerous observers assert that an "educational gap" is intensifying differences between generations,[8] does Linton's judgment that individual behavior is best evaluated by its deviations from the culture pattern take on more or less significance? Marked differences characterize the degree of formal education attained by parents in Effingham and the actual accomplishments and expectations of their children. (This point is explored in greater detail in Chapter 5.)

3. Should the schools devote more time to experiences which give students opportunities for processing information, for developing coping mechanisms? Hunt's work definitely infers that this charge is one they should honor; a wave of contemporary criticism alleges that public education as an institutional force is failing because of its inability--or unwillingness--to equip young people to meet such demands. As an aside, it is interesting to recall the remarks of one of the respondents in the summer interviews of 1970, a young woman who was a charter member of the Ford Foundation's Small Schools Talent Search. She has since received B.A. and M.A. degrees in psychology from the University of Chicago and

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[8]See, for example, Census Bureau data showing that the proportion of young adults holding college degrees has almost tripled since 1940, with the proportion of those holding high school diplomas rising from 38 to 75 per cent. The growth in educational attainment is so dramatic, assert scholars, "that what has been regarded as a generation gap is shown largely to be an education gap." These changes, they contend, "far more than age differences," explain present social and political conflicts. (Jack Rosenthal, New York Times, as quoted in the Champaign-Urbana Courier, Feb. 4, 1971), p. 7.

is now enrolled in a doctoral program at Harvard University. Asked to define "talent," she replied: "You mean--just like that, off the top of my head?" When I persisted, she said, "Well, it's the ability to assimilate, analyze, and synthesize information."

As the following pages will indicate, the setting of Effingham provides a host of opportunities for developing talent. Evidence that lack of coordination, redundant efforts, and failure to furnish even more avenues are also present does not deny the existence of current conditions.[9] There are ample signs that this region may open new vistas for talent development in the next decade, for changes impinging on the ecological niche represented by Effingham and its immediate surroundings are suggestive of findings in research on social interventions.[10]

> Under conditions of massive environmental change, striking and massive improvement can be obtained in abilities associated with adult social competence. Radical environmental manipulation has been shown to affect intellectual functioning, educational attainment, economic productivity, and family stability.

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[9]Life used to provide children with direct experience. School was an arena used for vicarious learning through books, contact with teachers, etc. Some rural youths in Effingham are still active as coon-hunters and also track down wolves and foxes. In fact, two boys shot a large wolf not far from one of the interstate highways that are irrevocably changing the region. But these same boys, and others like them, now have access to television for vicarious learning. What they desperately need in school is a chance to probe the implications of the changes affecting their immediate environment, to receive assistance in interpreting the relationships between local developments and those in the larger society. In other words, how can schools assist them in searching for understanding?

[10]James O. Miller, Review of Selected Intervention Research With Young Children, National Coordination Center, The National Laboratory on Early Childhood Education, ERIC Clearinghouse on Early Childhood Education, Urbana, Illinois, 1969, p. 16.

Yesterday and Today

The Highways

Approximately twelve years ago, the Eisenhower Administration initiated a program destined, in the words of a presidential advisor, to have "truly transcendent continental consequences."[11]

> This was a program which the twenty-first century will almost certainly judge to have had more influence on the shape and development of American cities, the distribution of population within metropolitan areas and across the nation as a whole, the location of industry and various kinds of employment opportunities (and, through all these, immense influence on race relations and the welfare of black Americans) than any initiative of the middle third of the twentieth century. This was, of course, the Interstate and Defense Highway System. It has been, it is, the largest public works program in history. Activities such as urban renewal, public housing, community development, and the like are reduced to mere digressions when compared to the extraordinary impact of the highway program.

Effingham lies in the path of this phenomenon. No reporting of its past, its daily activities, or its future can escape the need to account for the community's unique relationship to roads, cars, and trucks.[12]

Effingham has always been a major artery of both automobile and train transportation. Route No. 45, the chief link between St. Louis and Chicago during the thirty-year period 1935-1965, traverses the town. Running parallel to it is the Illinois Central Railroad; cutting across on an east-west tangent is the Pennsylvania line. Though both railroads have suffered the same harsh fate as their counterparts across the nation, Effingham has been designated as a key terminus for AMTRAK, and the

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[11]Daniel P. Moynihan, "Policy vs. Program in the '70s," The Public Interest, No. 20 (Summer, 1970), pp. 93-94.

[12]The editor's column on page 1 of the Effingham Daily News is entitled "Cross Roads Comments." A new truck stop will be known as "Crossroads Truck Stop, Inc."

Illinois Central will operate as a major component of this new system of railroad management.[13] But it is the cars, the trucks, and the interstate highways which have combined to thrust Effingham into the spotlight of social, economic, and political change. Highways No. 70 and No. 57 converge on the town. There they join forces with the older Route No. 45, and its state feeder system consisting of Routes No. 32, 33, and 40. The impact of rail and automotive transportation on the community is suggested by the map on the following page. However, no one-dimensional sketch can suffice as a description of events transpiring in the area. Fortune magazine prophesized over a decade ago that changes wrought by the interstate highway program would be so big and obvious that citizens would overlook their remarkable consequences.[14]

> Under the new Federal-Aid Highway Act, motor-vehicle operators will provide some $25 billion in federal taxes over the next thirteen years to finance a 41,000 mile superhighway network that will crisscross the United States. Including state, county, and municipal funds--also to be provided in large part by the motorist--the nation will probably spend about $100 billion on all roads between now and 1969.

Actually, the figure has risen above the writer's prediction, a now all too familiar outcome, and the highways it paid for have become an economic bonanza for Effingham.[15] But a variety of costs are waiting

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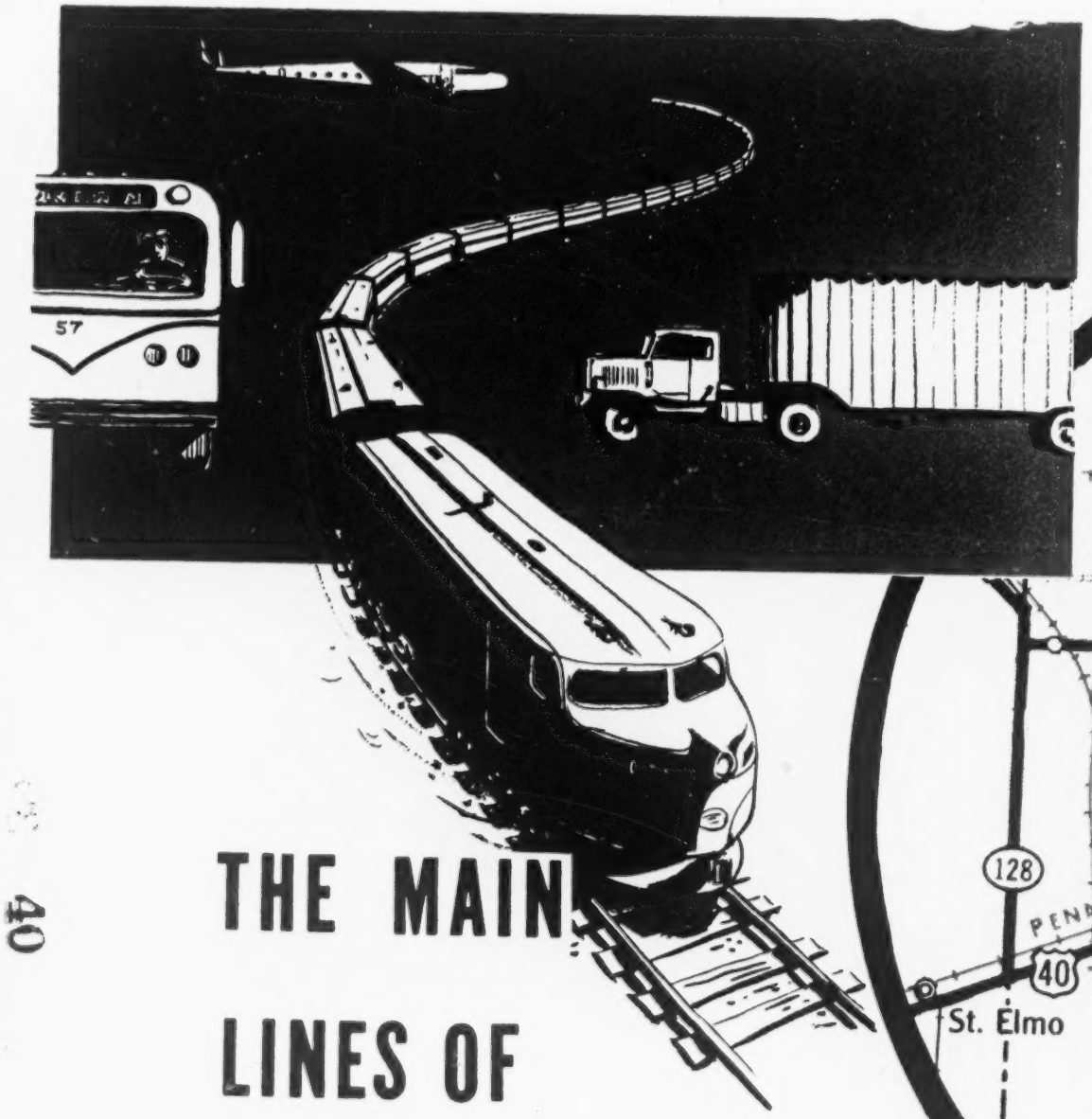
[13]Effingham and Chicago are now the only two cities in Illinois with both North-South and East-West passenger rail service. Effingham also serves as a "post-house" for Greyhound buses.

[14]Francis Bello, "The City and the Car," Fortune, V. 56, No. 4 (October, 1957), pp. 157-158.

[15]The same Fortune article noted there would be fewer than twenty communities of under 10,000 population that would have two intersecting cross-country highways. It also predicted rapid growth for communities located at these junctures. The publisher of the Daily News, referring to the Fortune issue, wrote: "Effingham is booming. A tremendous amount of federal and state highway tax money has been spent to our benefit. . . . The condition calls for the very best people to represent us." (April 19, 1971, p. 1)

EFFINGHAM



THE MAIN LINES OF TRANSPORTATION

EXTENDING TO AMERICA'S LARGEST MARKETS

off-stage. Some are already evident; others are indeed subtle. Effingham residents are becoming increasingly aware of them--as virtually every issue of the Daily News confirms. Those who refuse to believe printed accounts can easily check reality by attempting to pass through the exchange where I-57 and I-70 merge with state roads No. 32 and 33;[16] or by observing the semis rolling out in the early morning, rolling in at dusk--and continuing at a lesser pace throughout the day and night.[17] The roar of the trucks and the volume of traffic are grim reminders of how much our lives can be affected by the unanticipated consequences of external forces.

> Highways have never been a subject of any very great interest among persons given to writing or speculating about government. Certainly they have rarely been associated with social welfare issues, save in the early days of 'getting the farmer out of the mud.' Further, the politics of getting the Interstate Highway program enacted decreed, or at least indicated, the narrowest possible definition of its purpose and impact. . . . Had anyone realized what they (Bureau of Public Roads) were in fact doing, the sheer magnitude of the interests they were affecting, it is nigh impossible to imagine that they would have won acceptance.

Religion

German Catholics and Lutherans settled in Effingham, on nearby farms, and in the smaller towns of Effingham County. "This is one of the few places in the Midwest where white Protestants are a minority group," is a story frequently told to visitors. And Catholicism is a pervading influence.

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[16]Six accidents occurred in one day at this juncture, and one of those involved a family with which I became well acquainted. "When we took Karen to the doctor," her mother said, "he asked: 'Was her trouble caused by a truck? I live out that way, and it's becoming impossible.'"

[17]Moynihan, "Policy vs. Program . . . ," Op. Cit., p. 94.

Effingham has two parishes: St. Anthony and Sacred Heart.[18] Both sponsor elementary schools, grades 1-8; the former also supports a small high school. Not all Catholic young people attend parish schools, however, particularly at the secondary level. On the other hand, several public school teachers enroll their children in parochial institutions. Dual enrollment programs linking St. Anthony High School and Effingham High are gradually expanding and the vast majority of Catholic parents start their children in the city's kindergarten center. District 40 also furnishes bus transportation for parochial students. Since over forty per cent of school-age children in Effingham are enrolled in Catholic institutions, the public system has viewed its aid as a community service and as a means of avoiding almost catastrophic increases in student load if parochial schools were to close.[19] In other words, relationships between the two systems have been regarded as mutually beneficial. This condition came under careful scrutiny in 1970-71.

Governor Ogilvie's administration has favored the passage of parochial aid legislation. He has consistently given personal backing to such proposals. A bill incorporating desired elements failed to receive

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[18]St. Anthony parish was organized in 1865. Its first church is now known as the parish hall. According to available records, the first 4-H club in Illinois was organized in this hall. Farmers of an earlier day met there to plan the limestone trains that came into the county, and the parish hall is still used by the Farm Bureau, Effingham Equity, etc.

[19]A member of the Illinois General Assembly elected from Champaign voted for parochial aid and defended his actions by saying that public schools could absorb Catholic students without additional buildings, but local taxpayers could not bear the costs of educating them. Effingham public schools simply do not have room for parochial students in that community, and this factor helps explain the town's vulnerability to debates over parochial aid.

approval in the General Assembly session of 1969-70, but gained sufficient votes in the spring of 1971.[20] Its constitutionality was questioned by opponents, including the American Civil Liberties Union, and a decision rendered by the Supreme Court also cast a pall over the hopes of the Parochaid supporters.

Over a year ago, the superintendent of the Effingham County Educational Service Region (formerly the County Superintendent of Schools), a long-time resident and observer of the area, stated that the issue of public aid to parochial schools was an "extremely explosive" one for the sector. Lutherans in downstate Illinois are generally opposed to government assistance in the operation of their schools. Altamont, whose annual "Schutzenfest" reflects its Germanic roots, is heavily populated by Lutherans; so is Stewardson-Strasburg, Effingham's neighbor to the north.[21] But Teutopolis, located to the east along Route 40, is almost solidly Catholic. All three sites encompass parts of Effingham County. The church-state controversy inherent in debates over parochial aid also added emotional fuel to teacher-board negotiations in District 40. Charges that salaries of public school personnel were judged in light of their potential significance for costs of operating Catholic institutions were heard. The Illinois Education Association publicly denounced the idea of granting

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[20] In March, a poll of legislators revealed their belief that the issue of state aid to non-public schools represented the second most difficult problem facing them. (It was a problem, but other issues relegated it to a lower priority.) (The Champaign-Urbana Courier, April 4, 1971, p. 39).

[21] Readers may recall that Lutheran conservatism was a major influence in a school-community study conducted in Illinois over a generation ago. See August Hollingshead's Elmtown's Youth: The Impact of Social Classes on Adolescents (N.Y.: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1949).

government support for parochial and private schools, and its affiliates, such as the Effingham Classroom Teachers Association, joined in the clamor, although not as loudly as local members in Champaign-Urbana. Without question, collective bargaining procedures combined with state and national debates on the issue to make a locally-accepted feature the subject of heated discussion. A new, and potentially divisive, element has been introduced into school-community relations.

Religious and social conservatism cuts across both Lutheran and Catholic populations. A local respondent on the verge of leaving the community to marry someone from another city remarked:

> You know, these farmers down here are more conservative than the ones up around your (Arthur) region. They don't spend the money, they don't entertain in the same way; they don't go to the same kinds of places.

Her comments were supported by those of a prominent businessman relatively new to the area. "People around here will spend a dime," he said, "but only after careful thought."

New trends in behavior likewise evoke strong reactions. Citizens in Teutopolis were instrumental in placing four billboards in the area. They pictured a baby pleading: "ABORTION OH MOTHER NO!"[22] Other responses to current manisfestations of social change were revealed in comments about attitudes toward members of minority groups and others functioning

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[22]House Bill No. 1552 in the Illinois General Assembly would have legalized abortion. It was not approved by the legislators but it did spawn the formation of a "Right-to-Life" movement with particularly strong backing in the Effingham region. While there are many elements involved on both sides of this controversial issue, it should not be overlooked that miserable conditions of life in teeming inner-city ghettos, though very much in the minds of Chicago legislators and adamant foes of increasing welfare costs, remain a highly abstract situation in the purview of rural citizens.

outside the pale of conventional society. "Blacks can get a hard time around here, and lots of businessmen don't like to deal with them; but if you really want to see some of the city fathers turn red, white, and blue, have a couple of white kids with long hair and bare feet drop in."

Contradictory Tendencies

A few years ago, Effingham residents and school personnel participated in a Title III, ESEA, project emanating from Charleston, about thirty miles northeast. One of the consultants directing program activities later remarked:

> Boy, that Effingham! You see those highways, that Norge (Fedders) Plant, Best Homes, and all the other evidence of economic development, and you think: 'What a live, hustling place!' And then you discover it's only the top of the iceberg you're seeing. Beneath that busy veneer is a very conservative region. It's only changed on the surface.

Social and religious conservatism is deeply rooted in the area, as noted above, and it is reinforced by a type of neo-populism characterizing rural parts of the school district. American populism, writes a reviewer of former Senator Albert Gore's book entitled The Eye of the Storm: A People's Politics for the Seventies, "contains contradictory tendencies."[23]

> The sociological sources of populism are in segments of American society dissatisfied with the existing distribution of status and economic amenities, but fundamentally conservative with respect to the moral bases of rural, small-town, and lower middle-class behavior patterns.

The community of Effingham is located at the northern edge of school district No. 40. An outline of the district represents an elongated,

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[23]Seyom Brown, review of Albert Gore's The Eye of the Storm: A People's Politics for the Seventies (N.Y.: Herder & Herder, 1970); The Saturday Review, V. 53, No. 37 (Sept. 12, 1970), pp. 26-27.

somewhat distorted, rectangle as revealed on the next page. Several of the residents located south and east of the city are migrants from Appalachia. They are engaged in "patch farming"--i.e., subsistence farming--and work at odd jobs or, when employment is high, in Effingham plants. Their homes are frequently trailers, and the towns in which they are located--Waston, Mason, and Edgewood--are on the wane. The latter two, in particular, have been adversely affected by the opening of I-57. "I pumped 4,100 gallons the day before Thanksgiving," complained a service station operator; "now I'll be lucky to pump that much in a year." Mason's only grocery store is for sale. Wholesalers and distributors will not service such a small retailer. The highway system that has brought trade and industry to the community of Effingham represents the death knell for other parts of the school district unless major changes are forthcoming. Contrasts between the thriving regional center, which the town has become, with its heady mixture of German Catholic and Lutheran backgrounds, and the marginal income, frequently poorly educated, rural-oriented fundamentalists from the South are growing.

The population of its satellite towns may continue to increase but Effingham's neighbors lack the range of commercial and professional services historically identified with rural communities of the past.[24]

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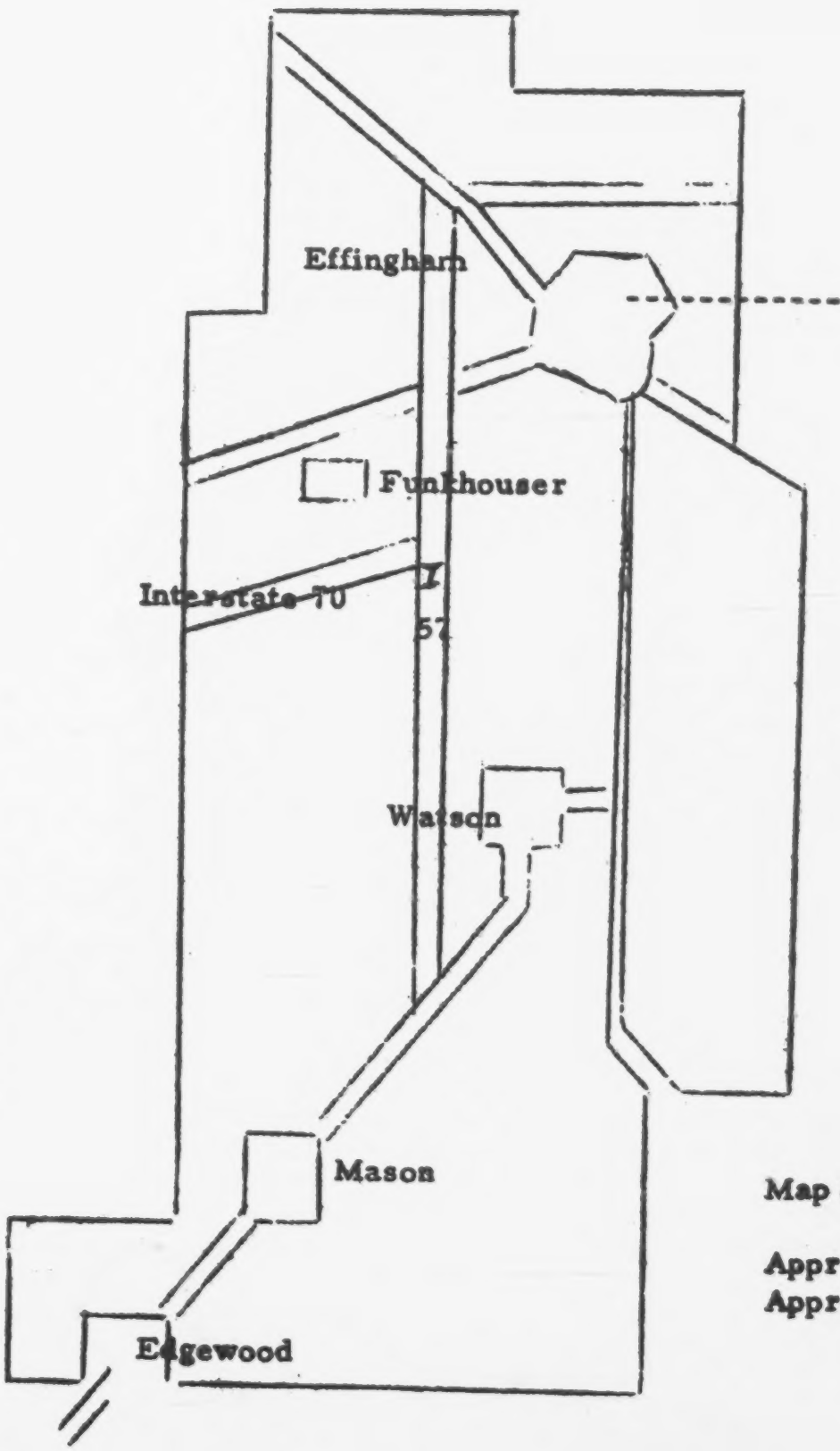
[24]A federal government report states:

> Factors which appear to be operating in the shift of small to larger size of towns are initial size and location relative to a larger center. While many small towns have died or become disincorporated, ...some have become commuter towns, some provide specialized shopping, and many are retirement communities. . . . (The Economic and Social Condition of Rural America in the 1970's, Economic Development Division, Economic Research Service, U. S. Dept. of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.: U. S. Govt. Printing Office, 1971), p. 20.

EFFINGHAM COMMUNITY UNIT DISTRICT #40



Map Showing Schools in Unit #40

Approximate area: 127.71 sq. miles
Approximate Valuation: $40,015,436

Residents of the smaller locales work in Effingham; they shop there; and the only doctors and dentists in the school-district territory are located there. This dependency serves to increase the antagonism numerous rural inhabitants direct at the town. Tensions fostered by the emerging elitism of Effingham and its contrasts with rural populism in much of the outlying area are symptomatic of quarrels engendered by the same forces down through the nation's history.

Environmental Influences

While the impact of the interstate highway system cannot be minimized in any assessment of Effingham as a valid barometer for gauging future developments, the interaction between this form of technological change and other facets of the region must be acknowledged.[25]

Most obvious, perhaps, is the new industry highways have lured to the community. An aggressive climate of business and industrial activity fostered the establishment of a large industrial park, and Effingham may well be the only town in the United States with a Catholic priest acting as chairman of its industrial commission. Truck stops are grossing over $250,000 monthly; the city has 800 motel rooms, with additions on the Ramada and Holiday Inn underway, and a new truck stop is going up. Development of a large shopping center is another indication of economic vitality.[26]

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[25]Towns in nonmetropolitan America which grew at a "rapidly growing" pace, i.e., at a rate clearly above the national average of 13 per cent or more, in the 1960s were marked by two features. About half were located in the South, and many of them throughout the nation are characterized by "the presence of a State college or university and their location on an interstate highway." (Economic and Social Condition of Rural America, Op. Cit., p. 22).

[26]So was the initiative displayed three years ago when Effingham city fathers purchased 70 acres with general revenue funds. World Color Press eventually located there, and availability of land was a major consideration in the firm's decision.

In the mid-1950s, shortly after the bad drought of 1952, a Water Authority was created in Effingham County. Land to the north and west of the town was purchased, a dam constructed, and a small creek became the source of Lake Sara. Given the scarcity of water in south-central Illinois, it was probably inevitable that this artificial lake, three miles long but with 27 miles of shoreline, would become a boon for local inhabitants and a veritable summer mecca for other residents of central Illinois. But the advent of two major highways made any such speculation a pedantic exercise. Some Effingham families maintain year-round homes at the Lake; others have luxurious summer havens there. Weekends in June, July, and August witness a great influx of boaters, swimmers, fishermen, family campers, etc. And a former resident who returns periodically to Lake Sara remarked: "It is amazing to observe the extent of development that has taken place in the last decade."

Another twenty miles north of Lake Sara is the Shelbyville Dam and Reservoir, a project constructed by the U. S. Army Corps of Engineers and officially opened in the fall of 1970. The conservation-recreation complex forming at Shelbyville will have lasting effects on its neighbors. One state official has commented: "Rend Lake (Benton) is better planned than the Carlyle project, and Shelbyville is superior to Rend Lake." All three are tied to attempts to control the lower Kaskaskia River;[27] however, the

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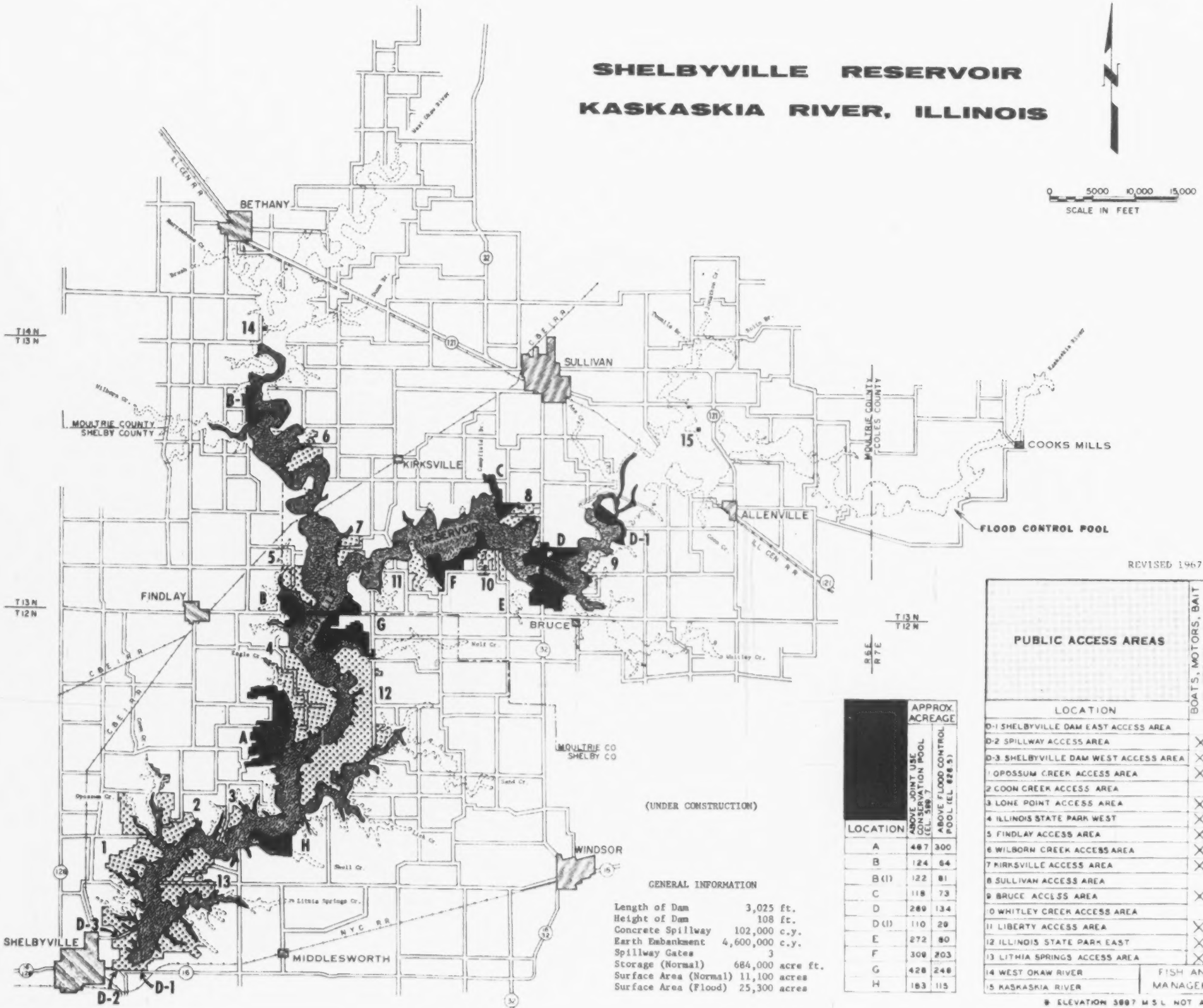
[27]The long-range implications of these projects are staggering:

> An unimportant little stream that used to meander its troublesome 325-mile way across Southern Illinois to the despair of farmer and townspeople alike is well along toward being transformed into a wonderland and treasure chest of water resources. . . . The Kaskaskia Navigation Project, a future industrial giant. . . . Already the projects are changing the Kaskaskia basin's economy and life style as they change its face. (Decatur Herald and Review, Sept. 18, 1970, p. 18.)

growing importance of recreation and conservation underscores the presence of two sites in the Effingham region. (This interrelationship is depicted in the map on the following page.)

Regional offices of the Social Security Administration have been moved to Effingham. Legislation phasing out the office of the County Superintendent of Schools, replacing it with a Superintendent of Educational Service Regions, will result in the placement of Effingham County's incumbent in a central coordinating and supervising role for several of the new components with less population. Added to this educational thrust is the appearance of Lakeland Junior College, which is constructing its permanent campus just off I-57, roughly mid-point between Charleston, the home of Eastern Illinois University (EIU), and Effingham. EIU, or "Eastern," as this university is frequently identified, has been the dominating influence from the realm of higher education. Lakeland threatens to supplant it. The latter is closer--both politically and geographically--and it apparently has the flexibility to respond quickly to requests from public schools, county superintendents, industry, etc. Above all, junior colleges represent a more concrete tie between school and work, and this relationship is not lost upon residents of the area. I was amazed at the impact of Lakeland on the Effingham area and became convinced that university officials may be underestimating the overall effects of the junior college movement. It is analogous, I believe, to the influence of the G. I. Bill of Rights on the generation that fought World War II, for it provides a second change, perhaps a first and unexpected opportunity, to avail oneself of additional training and education.

SHELBYVILLE RESERVOIR
KASKASKIA RIVER, ILLINOIS



REVISED 1967

LOCATION	APPROX ACREAGE: ABOVE JOINT USE CONSERVATION POOL (EL. 598.7)	APPROX ACREAGE: ABOVE FLOOD CONTROL POOL (EL 626.5)
A	467	300
B	124	64
B(1)	122	81
C	118	73
D	269	134
D(1)	110	20
E	272	80
F	309	203
G	428	248
H	183	115

GENERAL INFORMATION

Length of Dam	3,025 ft.
Height of Dam	108 ft.
Concrete Spillway	102,000 c.y.
Earth Embankment	4,600,000 c.y.
Spillway Gates	3
Storage (Normal)	684,000 acre ft.
Surface Area (Normal)	11,100 acres
Surface Area (Flood)	25,300 acres

PUBLIC ACCESS AREAS — LOCATION	BOATS, MOTORS, BAIT AND REFRESHMENTS	LAUNCHING RAMP	PICNIC GROUNDS	CAMPING GROUNDS	APPROX ACREAGE: ABOVE JOINT USE CONSERVATION POOL (EL 598.7)	APPROX ACREAGE: ABOVE FLOOD CONTROL POOL (EL 626.5)
D-1 SHELBYVILLE DAM EAST ACCESS AREA			X		283	186
D-2 SPILLWAY ACCESS AREA	X		X		858	
D-3 SHELBYVILLE DAM WEST ACCESS AREA	X	X	X		140	76
1 OPOSSUM CREEK ACCESS AREA	X	X	X		580	335
2 COON CREEK ACCESS AREA		X		X	298	185
3 LONE POINT ACCESS AREA	X	X	X		137	83
4 ILLINOIS STATE PARK WEST	X	X	X	X	941	853
5 FINDLAY ACCESS AREA	X	X	X		183	115
6 WILBORN CREEK ACCESS AREA	X	X	X		204	126
7 KIRKSVILLE ACCESS AREA	X	X	X	X	170	80
8 SULLIVAN ACCESS AREA		X	X	X	159	98
9 BRUCE ACCESS AREA	X	X	X	X	123	70
10 WHITLEY CREEK ACCESS AREA		X		X	100	54
11 LIBERTY ACCESS AREA	X	X	X	X	180	109
12 ILLINOIS STATE PARK EAST	X	X	X	X	1480	883
13 LITHIA SPRINGS ACCESS AREA	X	X	X	X	496	281
14 WEST OKAW RIVER — FISH AND WILDLIFE MANAGEMENT AREAS					2600	
15 KASKASKIA RIVER — FISH AND WILDLIFE MANAGEMENT AREAS					3500	

@ ELEVATION 5887 M S L NOT APPLICABLE

ELDER DRAP AUSTIN, COMMERCIAL PRINTING, SHELBYVILLE, ILLINOIS

Growth, Costs, and Priorities

Effingham clearly reflects the influence of some of the most powerful economic developments in the last decade. It should serve as an excellent field laboratory for anticipating, observing, and evaluating (predicting) changes of future consequence.

Preceding pages have emphasized the interstate highway program as the most visible factor in the community's recent history. Business gains, industrial growth, and a rise in population at a time when most downstate areas were losing residents,[28] or, at best, remaining stagnant, can be attributed to this federal project.[29] But the social and economic costs stemming from a major technological innovation are appearing as the community enters a new decade. A viable response to these grave challenges will not only tax the vitality and talents of inhabitants, it will also force them to examine carefully the issues of social, economic, and political priorities. For the seminal question facing Effingham residents is the same one confronting citizens at large: Is it possible for a network

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[28]A federal manpower report states that about half of the counties in the United States lost population between 1950-60. The losses were heaviest in exclusively or primarily rural counties. "Relatively few urban and urban-oriented counties had population declines. Preliminary data from the 1970 census indicates a continuation of this pattern." (Manpower Report of the President, The U. S. Dept. of Labor, Washington, D.C.: U. S. Govt. Printing Office, April, 1971, p. 115).

Events in Effingham, at least, confirmed this preliminary analysis; the city showed a gain of 19 per cent in population during the 1950-60 period and repeated the same pattern in the ten years just ended.

[29]And it has been a "bonanza" in every corner of the nation, notes a political analyst, adding that its ties to highway contractors and suppliers would play a major role in Maryland's primary elections. (Chicago Sun-Times, Sept. 13, 1970, p. 21.) An Illinois Congressman stated at a dedication of I-72, 75 miles north of Effingham, that "the business of this country will be conducted over the interstates." (The Champaign-Urbana Courier, Oct. 21, 1970, p. 21.)

of peoples to grasp the levers of change, to utilize the energies and new forces spawned by changing conditions in a positive fashion, rather than simply reacting to events that appear to lie "out there," the seemingly omnipotent elements which shape our future destinies?

Studies of small towns since the 1920s have brought the conflict of local and translocal forces into the spotlight, usually marked by a conclusion that the larger society works its will on these communities. Small Town in Mass Society is perhaps the classic illustration of this point of view. A more recent publication concerns a community known as "Benson."[30] The authors write:

> In the 1920s and 1930s, the small town was still being viewed by the social scientists who studied it as the permanent unchallengeable heart of American life. In the 1930s and 1940s, studies of the small town increasingly viewed it as tending to glide outside the mainstream of American life, though they rarely questioned its capacity to survive or its intrinsic importance.

Concluding that the 1950s and 1960s saw the problems of survival and significance dominating social science analysis of small towns, the observers of "Benson" describe its features, which, in many ways, are strikingly similar to Effingham's. Both are county seats of government. Each has a hospital and several doctors. Both have two new large industries on the edge of town; a railroad splits the community in each case; and they are both affected by growing numbers of federal branch offices. "Lines of tension between local and non-local forces are discernible in the economy of Benson," the authors report.[31] They are present, too, in Effingham. And I believe this tension, particularly its relationship to impending struggles over environmental matters, economic growth, social goals, etc.,

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[30]Don Martindale and R. Galen Hanson, Small Town and the Nation (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Publishing Co., 1969), p. 10.

[31]Ibid., p. 19.

will pose major problems for the city before the 1970s are far along. The task of maintaining balanced growth, not "survival and significance," confronts Effingham. From this standpoint, the downstate community is tied more to an urban society with its complexities of reform and renewal than it is to the small town survival patterns of existence in past years.[32] And these urban elements carry with them vast momentum.

In Illinois, Governor Ogilvie defined the "most important challenge of 1971" as the transportation crisis. A massive aid bill for Chicago's rapid transit system was approved as part of a comprehensive transportation package voted through in a last minute log-rolling effort in the General Assembly. Ogilvie created an Office of Mass Transportation and urged passage of a controversial bond referendum to pay for new facilities.[33]

"Our transportation capabilities are the foundation of our prosperity," the governor stated, adding:

> . . . Illinois leads the nation in railroad employment. It was a model 40 years ago in developing a hard road system. The state has the busiest airport. Commuter railroads serve 6 million persons. The state is a trucking terminal and is served by barges carrying millions of tons of cargo.[34]

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[32]For a description of a small, formerly dynamic, community now faced with problems of stagnation and survival, see "Wisconsin Rapids: U.S.A.," Chicago Sun-Times Midwest Magazine, March 21, 1971, pp. 18-21; 27-28. The author, William Granger, writes of a town where, in contrast to events in Effingham, trains (the famed Hiawatha) are pulling out; lumber mills are closing down; local youths are leaving; and general uncertainty prevails. This area also is populated by Lutherans and Catholics, and it too experienced severe troubles with teachers in 1970-71.

[33]Since his forthcoming opponent in the 1972 election, Lt. Governor Paul Simon, strongly opposed the referendum, this action should remain at the center of controversy.

[34]As cited in the Champaign-Urbana Courier, Feb. 28, 1971, p. 35.

Nor is political action the only pressure on Effingham. Automobile manufacturers see cars holding their place as the basic means of transportation for an indefinite period. Their long-range optimism is buoyed by ecstatic accounts such as the one below.

> As millions open the great American summer vacation season this month, using the Interstates to visit far-away places and reach favorite vacation sites, they'll ride in more safety and comfort and get there faster, than ever before. Life isn't all bad, is it?
>
> Yes, we are lucky Americans. . . . True, they've (the interstates) been costly. They've eaten up great chunks of land, including valuable farm acreage in many areas. . . . But all the faults or debits I can think of don't begin to match the assets or benefits of these magnificent highways.[35]

The remarks above, according to their author, were prompted by thoughts as he drove north from Effingham on I-57 toward Champaign-Urbana.

Some observers do not share his opinions.

> The simplest cure for automobilitis in the cities, then, is to bust the Highway Trust and to release its monies on a fair, competitive footing for whatever means of conveyance proves most adaptable to human sensitivities.
>
> Can the Highway Trust be busted? I believe that it can be. Furthermore, I am convinced that it will be when enough people understand how the Highway Trust is wrecking America, not only esthetically but economically and spiritually.
>
> This understanding cannot be expected overnight nor even in a year or two. Mainstream America has exulted in its love affair with the private automobile for too long. The automobile is a truer symbol of the essence of America than is the bald eagle, Uncle Sam, or apple pie. . . .
>
> The automobile is a powerful economic force. Directly and indirectly, it provides jobs for one in every five employed persons.
>
> . . .

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[35]The Champaign-Urbana News-Gazette, June 6, 1971, p. 4.

> This motley company of crusaders (against the Highway Trust) has a common adversary: the highway lobby, an amorphous and sometimes uneasy alliance of interests--many of whom have little formal contact with one another.[36]

As following pages will show, resentment is building against some of the conditions fostered by the interstate highways.[37] Their presence indicates the meshing of powerful forces and Effingham will have to deal with them. And in this response, residents of the area will surely confront many of the critical problems of the next quarter-century.

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[36]Denis Hayes, "Can We Bust the Highway Trust?" Saturday Review, V. 54, No. 23 (June 5, 1971), pp. 49 and 55. Much the same theme also appears in "Man vs Auto: Who's Going to Move?" The National Observer, Aug. 24, 1970, p. 1.

[37]The economic and social power embodied in the automobile was clearly revealed in President Nixon's new economic policies. A distinguished economist noted that the auto "accounts for 45 per cent of durable goods consumption," that it is the "swing element" in durable goods spending, with the latter area representing "the swing element in consumer behavior generally." Furthermore, he added: "the auto industry is the most important consumer of raw materials." (An interview with Pierre Rinfret, Chicago Tribune, Aug. 23, 1971, Section 3, p. 7.)

Chapter 3

A VITAL HEART

Outward Signs

Varsity athletic teams at Effingham High School are known as the "Flaming Hearts." Police cars are lettered on their sides with "Effingham: The Heart of the U.S.A." Shoulder patches on police uniforms carry the same slogan. A tiny village south of Effingham on Route No. 45 is designated "Heartville." The local radio station signs on and off with "WCRA: The Voice of Effingham, Illinois--The Heart of the Nation." The Heart Theatre was recently renovated and new seats were placed in it. Whether changes in the interior will suffice as a means of combatting the external influences of television and the ready availability of highways as thoroughfares out of town is still in doubt. Nevertheless, the community itself manifests many signs of vitality. It is, indeed, a vivid example of what columnist Joseph Kraft has described as "Middle America."[1]

> Middle America certainly has been around for quite a while, under different labels or no label at all. Mr. Kraft didn't discover it. . . , but he wrote about Middle America with an understanding and with a measure of sympathy that was surprising. Liberals have been concerned mainly with other parts of America, not the middle.
>
> . . .
>
> As Mr. Kraft described this group last week: '. . . the Middle Americans are the chief beneficiaries of the past decade of unbroken prosperity--the great mass of some 40,000,000 persons who have recently moved from just above the poverty line to just below the level of affluence.'

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[1]As cited in "Middle Americans, The Country's New Hero," The National Observer, January 12, 1970, p. 12.

Mr. Kraft writes that Middle America is no longer concerned with economic security, but with ease of life. Maybe, but Middle Americans are genuinely worried. . . worries that betray a fear that, having made it, they may, through the tinkering of politicians and academics, lose it all again. There is at least a trace of insecurity in all that.[2]

. . .

It is one thing to explain and sympathize with Middle America's attitudes. It is quite another, as Mr. Kraft wrote, to say that those attitudes are correct. A good deal of racial bigotry does in fact reside in this segment of society, among others. Middle America, justly angered by the way youngsters have been tearing up the nation's campuses, nonetheless does not perceive the genuine and fundamental reform that so many big schools now cry out for. And Middle American, properly concerned for law and order, is nonetheless too ready to dismiss social problems in the big cities as simply a matter of proper law enforcement.[3]

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[2]An interesting case in point was evidenced by the race for Congress in the 23rd Congressional District. Up for re-election was George Shipley, the eventual winner. His opponent was the writer and conservative spokesman Phyllis Schlafly. Her attacks on "liberalism," "big spenders," and the like struck a responsive chord in the Effingham region, and she outpolled Shipley in Effingham proper. But Shipley's campaign literature emphasized his war record as a Marine, his attention to area projects as an effective incumbent; and newspaper ads pictured him dressed in work clothes to examine a conservation project in company with area farmers, while Schlafly was shown waving to the crowd from the back seat of a convertible. The caption read: "Phyllis Schlafly running for (Queen???) or Congress???" A description of Shipley stated: "He is not a millionairess. . . . He has never written a book. HE JUST WORKS HARD FOR YOU IN WASHINGTON, D.C." (Effingham Daily News, Oct. 31, 1970, p. 7.)

[3]The Jeffersonian stereotype of "evil cities" and "benign villages" is constantly reiterated in the column written by the owner of Daily News. An illustration follows.

> So we are thinking today that if our grandson goes to Wellington (Kansas) for 8 days, he will be in some such town as Effingham; and this nation is full of good small towns in which there is calm and peace, and a good sense of decency.
>
> . . .
>
> Thank God for the little towns of America where people know each other--and go about their pleasant 'Good Mornings.' (Daily News, Aug. 22, 1970, p. 1.)

Effingham's current period of prosperity began in the latter part of the 1960s. Its ties to the interstate highway system were noted previously. Momentum created by that source seems certain to move through the present decade and perhaps beyond. But the effects are uneven. ADC mothers complain of "few jobs for us and those like us." When Norge (Fedders Corporation) slackens production, those fighting tenaciously to remain above the poverty lines are hurt. Older men, several of whom represent Effingham's "Populists," have not forgotten how the "little man" was affected by the Great Depression of the 'Thirties, and they belabor corporations, utilities, and taxing bodies for alleged misdeeds. True, there is concern about the quality of life in the region, although it comes primarily from students and the ranks of women. Kraft's remarks, and their analysis cited above, were written before the spectre of unemployment reappeared in early 1971. Though its effects in Effingham have been less marked because of the town's unusual location, major employers such as Norge and World Color Press cut back on working hours and total employment. Inflation is of great concern to older residents. Farmers are caught in a cost-price squeeze, along with the appearance of corn blight in the summer of 1970, which created anxiety about prospects for 1971.[4] Economic security may be more of an issue in Effingham than Kraft evidently believes, and the cleavage between older generations scarred by memories of the 1930s and their sons and grandsons accustomed to relative affluence is accentuated by other factors.

[4]Ironically, the blight did not come back. Many farmers planted more corn, though, and the combination of dock strikes and surpluses further depressed the price of corn. Rural citizens are outspoken in their criticism of union actions, and some of their animosity is directed against the organized workers in Effingham's industries.

Pragmatic Ideology

Effingham County residents normally vote Democratic in state and federal elections, although they are a true national sampling of the "inconsistency" in political attitudes. They are "liberal" on some issues; "conservative" on others. A Republican was elected to his fourth successive term as Superintendent of the Educational Service Region; the mayor during most of this span was a Democrat, and his son is a member of the House of Representatives in the Illinois General Assembly. The new mayor is a Republican. But most local political figures reflect a rural image of the urban ethnic politician.

> . . . The ethnic politician realizes that for all the attention they get on the media, self-appointed 'spokesmen' usually represent only themselves and a tiny band of friends. Most citizens are not interested in ideology but are moved by more concrete and pressing matters--jobs, sidewalks, garbage removal, streets, transportation, housing, access to the government to get assistance when needed.
>
> . . .
>
> He (the ethnic politician) is well aware of the unpredictability, the strain toward bigotry, the extreme sensitivity to slights, the fear, the impatience with all politicians. But he also realizes that there is a strain towards rationality, openness and trust, and a sympathy for social reform, and that, in his better moments, John Q. Voter is capable of civility, intelligence and generosity.[5]

All the above characteristics were present in discussions, conversations, meetings, letters to the editor, and in a host of settings in Effingham during 1970-71. Looming over the scene at all times was the obvious drive of the community and its residents, their desire to get on with the job. It is no accident that the outdoor marquee at the IGA

[5]Andrew M. Greeley, "Take Heart From the Heartland," The New Republic, V. 163, No. 24 (Dec. 12, 1970), p. 18. (Reprinted by Permission of The New Republic, c 1970, Harrison-Blaine of New Jersey, Inc.)

store, which is open 24 hours a day Monday through Friday, reads: "We try Hard." "We Want to Please." "We Really Care." And inside the store are posted numerous references to the ties between hard work and opportunity. The founder of Martin's IGA was elected mayor in April.[6]

Tasks at Hand

Effingham will need to muster all its physical, moral, and intellectual resources in the near future because its problems are not only growing in stature and significance, many of them are originated by the same sources which feed its growth and vitality. In 1970-71, the three most debated local issues were: (1) traffic and parking (2) garbage disposal (3) taxes.

Once More Around the Square

Though the ceaseless traffic along the interstates is the most apparent sign of transportation problems, few of the passersby appreciate the dilemma it creates for the community of Effingham. Through traffic causes congestion at the point of exchange between the interstate system and Routes No. 32-33, which come into the city from the north. Safely through the hazards of this test, drivers are faced with more congestion at the intersection of Routes No. 32-33 with Effingham's main street (Jefferson). Continuing south, a block away is the four-way stop at the juncture of Routes 32-33 and 40. If travelers still wish to continue south,

[6]His campaign ads stressed the familiar themes of "progress," "growth," "paychecks," and the need to sustain the momentum of the past four years, a period when major industrial employers were attracted to the town. The new mayor is extremely active in religious activities and henceforth council meetings will open with a prayer. While he is not a Methodist, a message carried on the outside bulletin board of that denomination's church appropriately symbolizes the mayor's philosophy and practice and also serves as an insight into the hustle and bustle of the city. In late May, the board read: "No Man Ever Grew Strong By Carrying A Light Load."

there is a good chance that a Pennsylvania train will be blocking the road; should they turn to the east and head for the central part of town, there's an even better chance that Illinois Central rail traffic will obstruct their path. These tracks are located on the western edge of the community's main business district and, in company with the traffic common to many shopping areas plus teenage drivers, they threaten to paralyze mobility in the downtown area, especially on Friday night. (See the following page for a map-sketch of the areas noted above.)

The consequences for business activity are not overlooked. Effingham Associated Retailers hired consultants to study the problem. The construction of a shopping mall is under consideration. In a January meeting of the Retailers discussion focused on "parking and ways to keep traffic moving on Friday nights which is considered by many to be the most important because of the many bottlenecks that have developed."[7]

"Any high school kid can tell you what's wrong," commented a teacher at St. Anthony Grade School. "There's simply no way of getting on to Jefferson or of crossing it; and you don't need traffic analysts to tell you that!" True. But it may take outside assistance to solve the problem. In the meantime, feasibility studies have started with respect to the development of the proposed mall, for merchants downtown must compete with new areas at the edge of town. Already the city council has agreed to stop through traffic on Jefferson during Friday's shopping hours. Council members are discovering that political and economic decisions have social consequences, as revealed by letters to the editor:

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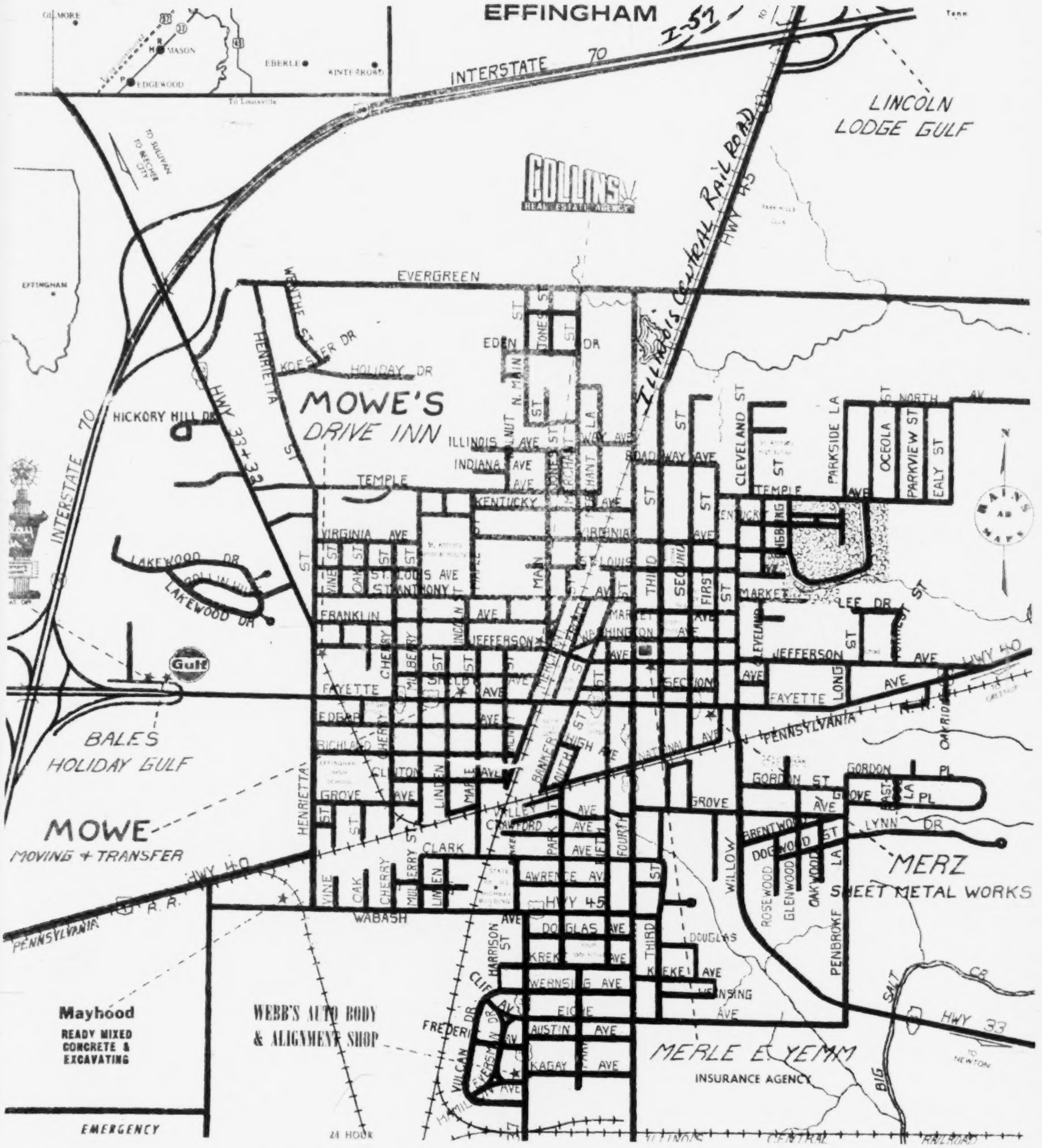
[7]Effingham Daily News, Jan. 5, 1971, p. 6.


EFFINGHAM
INTERSTATE 70
I-57
LINCOLN LODGE GULF
COLLINS REAL ESTATE AGENCY
ILLINOIS CENTRAL RAILROAD
HWY 45
EVERGREEN
HENRIETTA
HOLIDAY DR
MOWE'S DRIVE INN
HICKORY HILL DR
HWY 33+37
TEMPLE
ILLINOIS AVE
INDIANA AVE
KENTUCKY AVE
VIRGINIA AVE
LAKEWOOD DR
FRANKLIN AVE
JEFFERSON AVE
FAYETTE AVE
GROVE AVE
CLARK
WABASH
HWY 40
PENNSYLVANIA R.R.
BALES HOLIDAY GULF
MOWE
MOVING + TRANSFER
Mayhood
READY MIXED CONCRETE & EXCAVATING
EMERGENCY
24 HOUR
WEBB'S AUTO BODY & ALIGNMENT SHOP
MERLE E. YEMM
INSURANCE AGENCY
MERZ
SHEET METAL WORKS
HWY 33
TO NEWTON
MARKET
LEE DR
GORDON ST
LYNN DR
BROADWAY AVE
PARKSIDE LA
OCEOLA
PARKVIEW ST
EALY ST
CLEVELAND ST
WILLOW
ROSEWOOD
GLENWOOD
OAKWOOD LA
PENBROKE
DOUGLAS AVE
WERNSING AVE
AUSTIN AVE
KAGAY AVE
EDEN
MAIN ST
THIRD ST
SECOND ST
FIRST ST
HARRISON ST
CHERRY ST
MULBERRY ST
LINCOLN AVE
MAPLE ST
OAK ST
VINE ST
GILMORE
MASON
EDGEWOOD
EBERLE
KINTERBOARD
To Louisville
TO SULLIVAN
TO BEECHER CITY
Gulf

> Two weeks ago, I saw an appalling sight on Jefferson Street in downtown Effingham. This sight was a barricade with a sign saying: 'No Through Traffic.'
>
> I was told that these barriers were put in the streets for the safety of pedestrians.
>
> Since the signs are up during the hours of six through nine o'clock, I could only come to the conclusion that the downtown merchants were responsible.
>
> I only wanted to say that these actions excite me tremendously for now the teenagers of Effingham have less to do on week-end nights than ever before.[8]

The young citizen was partially correct. Barricades were placed at the behest of downtown merchants, and the action was related to problems of pedestrian traffic. These frustrations were exposed in another letter.

> . . . The Associated Retailers should see that the city put in stop and go lights at the four crosstown streets. (sic)
>
> This is necessary if they want business to stay downtown. . . .
>
> The cars on Jefferson never let anyone cross, they block the cross street. If the city would put in stop and go lights at these four streets, they would have a modern traffic system.[9]

Retailers are not unaware of the situation. One of their meetings was characterized by such remarks as: "Why can't they keep traffic moving downtown on Friday evenings?" A session of the city council dealt with the topic: "Why is traffic so slow downtown on Friday evening?" During the Christmas holidays, the editor of the Daily News declared, hundreds of Christmas shoppers asked: "Why is traffic so slow every evening we are uptown?"[10]

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[8]Effingham Daily News, May 12, 1971, p. 3.

[9]Ibid., Feb. 16, 1971, p. 7.

[10]Ibid., Jan. 8, 1971, p. 1

But civic leaders and businessmen realize it will take more than stop and go lights and policemen directing traffic. Illinois Central tracks must be reckoned with; so must the volume of pedestrian and auto traffic. Under consideration are plans for multi-level auto parking to accompany the proposed mall. A limited survey of shoppers during a weekend indicated that the majority of respondents felt it was worthwhile to drive downtown, but they also were in favor of a pedestrian mall, one-way traffic systems, and additional parking facilities.[11]

Remedial efforts will have to move beyond those developed thus far. Traffic, parking, and shopping complexities are only the most visible features of conditions posed by changes in the larger environment. A writer for the Daily News cautions that "it is late, but not too late, for the Effingham Central Business District to solve its parking problems, traffic problems, and beautification problems."[12] And the experience of other towns lends significance to a growing local awareness. A consultant firm, retained for an economic analysis and feasibility study, gave some hint of what corrective action will entail. "Ramp parking is needed to serve future growth in the retail district," the company reported.

> It is clear that some form of underlying subsidy will be needed in order to keep the rates within acceptable limits. Most likely, a local parking authority or some other authorized body would have to underwrite the parking facility.[13]

This advice is in line with the experience of other communities caught up in rapid growth patterns. For example, Emporia, Kansas, though

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[11]Ibid., May 19, 1971, p. 1.

[12]Ibid., May 24, 1971, p. 1.

[13]Ibid., May 28, 1971, p. 1.

somewhat larger than Effingham, is undergoing very similar changes. It was marked by population increases while rural areas around it declined. Emporia acquired four new industries and added approximately 1800 jobs in the second half of the 1960s; so did Effingham. Both towns are illustrative of developments in other parts of the nation, i.e., local initiative must be combined with outside assistance in order to accomplish major changes. The Washington Post reports: "The lessons seem to be that if the small and medium-sized cities are to flourish, only a large infusion of public aid will provide the initial momentum. Highways, public works, and indirect subsidies seem essential.:[14]

A Messy Problem

Citizens of Effingham are interested in control of pollution, the improvement of their environment. Responses from Rotarians and from members of the Business and Professional Women's Federation at the close of my presentations indicated genuine concern. However, the most pressing and irksome phase of the battle over pollution is symbolized by bitter exchanges concerning garbage removal and disposal.

Reactions to the costs of this bothersome but crucial service were observed time and again during the year. Effingham lacks access to a land-fill. The municipal government provides no service in this area, but grants permits to private firms. The latter then truck wastes to a

[14]"Small-City Boom Deceptive," The Washington Post, March 15, 1971, p. A6. Again, the influence of interstates is striking. The same article notes that three counties in North Dakota grew faster than the national average while the state as a whole lost 2.3 per cent in the past decade. All of those counties "are on interstate highways."

dump in Mattoon, over twenty miles away. Consequently, charges are higher than usual and garbage must be packaged in specific ways. The importance attached to this service was reflected in the editor's column of the Daily News. Normally a supporter of the city administration, he took council members to task.[15]

> Perhaps the present city administration should start correcting the situation, instead of just looking at it.
>
> I know they don't want to get into the garbage business but they certainly can make it their business to operate a dumping ground for haulers and anyone else that might want to use the facilities.
>
> They can leave the hauling to private enterprise. . . . Just was told that because of the environmental protection act, effective July, 1970, trash and garbage hauling will become big and lucrative in the coming years. Also warned that cities should avoid handing out lone franchises for garbage hauling. Understand that syndicate is moving in on the business because of its bigness.

Garbage disposal is likely to become more than an irritating local issue, for it is part and parcel of the impending battles over environmental concerns that give every sign of characterizing the 'Seventies. Effingham has had an ordinance against open burning of garbage for several years, and one to prohibit burning of leaves and paper after 5 p.m. was approved in 1970. A series of excerpts taken from "Letters to the Editor" reveals the polarization created by anti-pollution measures, particularly their implications for governmental actions and ultimate effects on community and individual behavior.[16]

> The city should have enforced the ordinance and they (sic) have not. The city should have seen to it that everyone has garbage

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[15] Effingham Daily News, Sept. 20, 1971, p. 1.

[16] Actually, these changes were prompted by provisions of the Illinois Pollution Control Act. Strong reactions were not confined to Effingham.

cans, and let the people know that anyone attempting to burn garbage in open barrels would be subject to arrest.

. . .

Other cities have banned all burning of trash and it's only a matter of time until the state or federal government will stop all of this sort of air pollution. Why can't Effingham stop it now?

. . .

I am sure that the mayor and councilmen who undertake such action will have the blessing of all citizens who appreciate fresh air. It will be worth a few extra dollars to be able to raise windows at night and know one can sleep without choking from the stench of burning garbage.[17]

I hope that you don't think we're so dumb to think that every load of garbage is going to be hauled clear to Mattoon! How long do you think that will last? A month? Then prices will already be raised.

Who wants to drag a full garbage can from back of their houses to the front? . . . (sic)

As for pollution, every citizen could burn on the same day and not make the smoke that Norge's smoke stack puts out in one firing of the furnace.[18]

The Establishment has been heard from on the garbage question, because it hits them in the pocketbook. Where were they when I was complaining about (other issues)?[19]

A mayoralty candidate tried to make approval of the statewide $750,000,000 Anti-Pollution Bond Act a local issue but failed to arouse much interest. He also lost the election and had admitted earlier that he felt the bill would pass despite weaknesses he saw in it. His wisdom in trying to capitalize on fears of growing state and federal dominance

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[17]Ibid., Sept. 22, 1970, p. 3.

[18]Ibid., Sept. 26, 1970, p. 2.

[19]Ibid.

in the name of environmental improvement was not unfounded, although the ambivalence citizens show everywhere concerning problems of human behavior prevented the measure from becoming an effective ploy this time. The same contrast was mirrored in the actions of those opposed to city ordinances on matters of pollution, for they became incensed when a private disposal firm was charged in print, along with accompanying pictures, of polluting outlying rural lands. Meanwhile, the likelihood of increased water fees to help pay the local share of costs for improving a sanitary sewer system adds to a general concern over rising taxes.

Added Complexities

The gravest threat to Effingham's environment, to the quality of life esteemed by residents and visitors alike, may not rest in noxious reminders of garbage disposal and treatment of human wastes. Instead, the long-term consequences of noise and air pollution stemming from the great volume of truck and auto traffic pose a more complex and massive problem. Combined with safety hazards permeating the area, conditions fostered by the interstate highway system represent a Scylla and Charybdis for the community. Moynihan warns:

> To the frequent question 'Why don't government programs work?' it is often a truthful answer that they do work. It is just that so frequently the effect of a 'hidden' program cancels out the avowed one.[20]

[20]Moynihan, "Public Policy. . . ," Op. Cit., p. 95. A Time Magazine report on the scattered opposition to construction of interstates concludes: "From now on, federal highway builders are more likely to consider environmental consequences," March 15, 1971, p. 44.

On two different occasions when I was speaking to groups in Effingham--once to the Rotary Club,[21] the second a meeting with high school band members--they asked me to illustrate what I was trying to evaluate. I replied: "Listen." (pause) "You can hear those trucks. What does that noise mean for the future of Effingham?" No answers were forthcoming, although individuals responded later in other situations. It is probably too much to expect youths and adults in Effingham to vary greatly from the dominant norm.

> The values which affect society's behavior toward the environment are fundamental, widely held, and deeply involved with our perceptions of the world around us. For instance, as a society we attach an almost hysterical importance to the inevitability of

[21]This early appearance at a Rotary luncheon proved to be a crucial incident in the process of gaining acceptance in the community. The president of the school board, a pediatrician, invited me and gave me a flattering introduction. Members of the audience represented major professional, political, and business figures in the community. Citing Moynihan's remarks about the influence of highways and his link to the President's office gained attention. Rotary meets in the Ramada Inn, located at the juncture of I-70 and 57 with state roads No. 32-33, and the mayor in the fall of 1970 was the owner of the Ramada. Later, it became apparent that the meeting had evolved in ways very similar to those described by a rural sociologist in an article dealing with the role of the participant-observer.

> The particular event that appeared finally to 'trigger' the author's acceptance was an after-dinner address he gave before a local service club. The topic was social and economic trends of the region, and his remarks seemed to make evident to Rivervillers, for the first time, that his job in their community was a genuine investigation that might conceivably be of value to them. The talk was reported in the newspaper (so was mine) and a repeat performance before a much larger audience was given several weeks later. (The same sequence developed in my case.) (Robert W. Janes, "A Note on Phases of the Community Role of the Participant-Observer," American Sociological Review, V. 26, No. 3 [June, 1961], p. 449.)

> progress and to the value of economic growth. So much so that we seldom examine these ideas, even though they are by no means shared by other people around the world or even by all segments of our society.[22]

The Cost of Living

The Ogilvie Administration successfully pushed through a state income tax effective in 1970. Despite the fact that a number of rational arguments were made in its behalf, various observers believe the action left Governor Ogilvie politically vulnerable. Time and events will confirm or deny the validity of these charges, but there is no gainsaying the growing resistance of voters to tax increases.

Unlike many communities, Effingham was not faced with increased educational levies in 1970-71. Issues represented by garbage disposal, traffic control, and sewage treatment were outlined above. Judging by comments of residents, both oral and in print, their concern not only focused on taxes but the uses made of such funds. In other words, who determines priorities, and how?

Effingham is governed by a mayor and six commissioners. Just prior to city elections, the council purchased an old hotel and converted it into a parking lot. Critics saw this action as favoring downtown merchants who allegedly control determination of priorities. In the primary election last spring, at which time the field of potential candidates was narrowed to eight, mutterings were heard that Catholic aspirants were top vote getters because their fellow churchmen voted en bloc. Shortly after the final election in June, a large discount store on the south side of town

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[22]Edward A. Ames, "Schools and the Environment," A Ford Foundation Reprint, New York, N. Y., 1969, p. 4.

was destroyed by fire. This time there were accusations that water facilities had not been developed in the affected area because the "power structure" operated in other parts of the community. And so the controversies went.

> As firemen worked under (these) conditions, many recalled an offer. . . of a site for an elevated tank as well as $40,000 toward the cost of constructing a half-million gallon tank. . . . The city council turned down (this) offer, as they did another (from the same source).
>
> . . .
>
> The comprehensive plans call for a storage tank for the south side at some time in the future. . . . However, no specific year was given in the comprehensive plan for completion of the south side project.[23]

The people of Effingham view increased taxes as distasteful but inevitable. In company with citizens throughout the nation, however, they want more of a voice, a "piece of the action" in determining how taxes are spent. The term "participatory democracy" is not heard in Effingham although at least one person suggested that a Citizens Council be formed to meet with the City Council to help iron out problems brought before the latter.[24] An intuitive feeling that the cost of living, now and in the future, is a psychological as well as a fiscal issue was reflected in newspaper accounts and in exchanges between residents. There was much evidence to support both President Nixon's comments in his State of the Union message, and David Brinkley's analysis on NBC Radio, January 25, 1971, that a need exists for getting the government closer to its citizens.

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[23]Effingham Daily News, March 30, 1971, p. 1.

[24]Ibid., Sept. 22, 1970, p. 3.

Mobilization of Resources

In a reference to The Talk in Vandalia, the authors of a community study in Minnesota comment: "Vandalia's families were found to be uncertain about their future and the future of their community."[25] In contrast, 10 years later, Effingham residents appear confident that they will persevere. There are problems, admittedly, but the fears and trepidations expressed in Vandalia are not characteristic of Effingham.

The physical resources readily available to the community were described. References to the drive and ambitions of inhabitants were disclosed. Questions as to whether or not these assets are sufficient have been raised. In a democratic society, political action functions as a critical path for attacking social problems. Charges that political institutions move too slowly are frequently made, in part because critics from the academic arena are more optimistic about the ability of leadership to correct complex difficulties in a relatively brief time span than are political leaders. The art of mobilizing resources, of encouraging people to move on a broad front of reform, looms as a vital need in the forthcoming years. OEO has attempted to harness such energies in its Community Action Programs; Saul Alinsky and others have organized groups around specific causes. Few communities have successfully launched broad-scale attempts to deal with situations in which their assets and their behavior are also parts of the problem. Effingham has been involved in two such undertakings. One was the rebuilding of St. Anthony Memorial Hospital after its destruction by fire at the turn of the 1950s. The

[25] Small Town and the Nation, Op. Cit., p. 8.

shock of multiple deaths and their ties to community residents,[26] the need to bring secular and religious organizations together with state and federal agencies, and the task of sustaining efforts after the initial thrust dies down were all encompassed in this project.

The planning and construction of Lake Sara also serves as an illustration of the tests facing communities, their leaders, and residents. A first-hand description was provided by the editor of the Daily News.

> Sometimes it isn't easy to get projects moving unless there is available cash laying around and in sufficient quantities.
>
> So many of us gained that experience in many projects, principally the Lake Sara project.
>
> It was in 1952. . . the organization was formed. And it was thought that in a number of months the community would have a reservoir to serve as a water resource.
>
> But there were disappointments. It was not until five years later that the lake was dedicated. Instead of a year, it was five years.[27]

Areas of Vulnerability

A recent analysis of census data pinpoints several of the weaknesses in rural America. While they are not as relevant to the community of Effingham as its rural locale suggests, the conclusions hold particular significance for elements of the county and surrounding area and their

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[26]Some older citizens report they are still plagued with recurring nightmares of that terrible holocaust, hearing the screams and smelling the odor of burned flesh that permeated the northwest edge of the city.

[27]Effingham Daily News, Jan. 7, 1971, p. 1. Not everyone wanted a lake. Farmer opposition was so strong at the time that they pushed through a referendum prohibiting the sale of liquor in rural parts of the county. Much the same type of opposition is appearing now in attempts to halt formation of a reservoir-conservation district south of Effingham.

interdependence with the growing regional hub represented by the city's development.

"Rural poverty and powerlessness are facts of our time," warned an Indiana Congressman, in relating information obtained in the 1970 census.[28]

> The rate of unemployment in rural areas often exceeds by two and three times the rate in urban areas. The jobs in rural America pay less than in urban areas. There is also far more unemployment. . . . Rural residents usually have only about 80 per cent of the school attainment of urban residents. . . . Rural schools often lack libraries, laboratories, and language facilities. Rural teachers earn less money. The expenditures per child in rural areas tend to be less.

Two factors stand out in the above quotation with respect to the Effingham study. One is the sense of powerlessness reflected in statements of the poor and less well educated and the comments underscoring that condition which are made by those who have moved up and out of such settings. The second is the underutilization of talent, especially among women.

Underemployment cuts across the ranks of both sexes in rural American, but it particularly affects women, and not merely those with little formal education. "This is Andrew Jackson country down here," remarked a woman resident holding a college degree; "it's dominated by men--tough, active men. You hesitate on a decision and you're dead."

One of the candidates for a city commissioner's position was a local teacher, an ambitious, energetic, highly-educated woman with strong family connections in the community. She survived the primary

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[28]As noted in the Champaign-Urbana Courier, June 11, 1971, p. 19. And a noted educator, A. Harry Passow, cautions: "Talent loss may well be the greatest in rural regions." See "The Comprehensive High School and Gifted Youth," Educating the Gifted: A Book of Readings, ed. by J. L. French (New York, N.Y.: Henry Holt and Co., 1959), p. 188.

only to lose in the finals. Her race created much talk, considerable consternation in both civic and school ranks, and--in my opinion--was a harbinger of future events.

This same year also saw the emergence of feminine leadership in the Classroom Teachers Association. A librarian served as chief spokesman for ECTA's negotiating team and her predecessor and team member was a woman science teacher. Education has traditionally provided a somewhat artificial and ineffective channel for women to use in gaining a foothold in community politics; however, the growing sense of organizational competence and power among public employees, including those in education, could alter that pattern.[29] To borrow from the title of a leading song in 1970-71, the Feminist Movement "has only just begun" in Effingham.

An analysis of rural human resource development cites the relative lack of accessibility to communication media as a detrimental feature.[30] Again, the city of Effingham--given its access to highways, a small airport, both standard and cable-TV, a computerized data-processing office, and the political base symbolized by the county courthouse--seems an exception to the rule. Its rural neighbors suffer the consequences. The same highways effectively isolate small towns. No longer does traffic pass by. "Progress" and state and federal political actions have combined to leave these communities more bereft of face to face

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[29]A famed psychiatrist asserts: "Anyone who can alter the expectations of people can change their behavior." (Rudolf Dreikurs, Social Equality: The Challenge of Today [Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1971], p. 30.)

[30]R. G. F. Spitze, "Problems of Adequacy in Rural Human Resource Development--Concepts and Accomplishments," presented at the Symposium on Public Problems and Policies Related to Rural Communities, Ames, Iowa, May 27-29, 1969, p. 6. (mimeo reprint)

interaction with outsiders in 1971 than they were in 1941. Farmers are becoming more aware, too, of the consequences of highway construction. "Now they want more land for a cloverleaf exchange," exclaimed a resident in the Mason sector. "You notice they don't go up into that wealthier northern part of the state and make the same demands."[31] Farmers also are increasingly upset about imbalances created in local ecology by the construction of highways--e.g., drastic changes in drainage patterns.

Rural regions frequently are handicapped by comparative discrepancies in educational investment. There are several reasons for this condition, and it, in turn, produces a variety of effects. The most pertinent one in view of the need for enlightened political action is described below.

> A comparative discrepancy in educational investment experienced by rural people, whatever the reason, simply magnifies their disadvantage in participating effectively in the public decision-making that is so important to adjustments in the rural community, including the choices concerning public education.[32]

Evidence continues to mount that a major share of the responsibility for the adequacy of talent development rests on a single variable,

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[31]Farmers in central Illinois, the Clinton area, have formed a Salt Creek Association to fight attempts by utilities to build a power plant in that region. Their colleagues in the Sterling-DeKalb areas are opposing extension of the East-West Tollway in the northwestern part of the state. Cities need the roads for growth; urban residents seek faster modes of transportation; farmers are forced off their property in the process, invariably losing in court battles decided on the principle of "the greatest good for the greatest number." Land-use policies emerge as a major arena of conflict for the 1970s.

[32]Spitze, Op. Cit., p. 6.

education.[33] The singular importance of educational opportunity for rural regions in general, and the Effingham area in particular, is mirrored in the following account.

> (1) Rural areas still possess a sizeable number of young people for whom a relatively heavy burden of education must be borne. (2) Rural areas must carry the burden predominantly through public schooling, rather than by having some of it channeled through private schools. (3) The quality of the educational product is most surely affected adversely in rural areas by the lower expenditures for school operations and specifically the lower teachers' salaries. (4) Although a basic reason for such inferior support is the substantially lower income level, rural areas allocate a larger proportion of their limited resources to public education, still without closing the gap.
>
> For these reasons and because of selective migration, the rural areas are left with inferior, average educational achievement among their population.[34]

The conditions noted above form a unique combination of contrasts in the Effingham region and help make the community and its school district a contradictory setting. Rural sectors are comprised of German farmers working homesteads of long duration along with new inhabitants possessing transient backgrounds, marginal incomes, and low levels of formal education. A large parochial school complex incorporating two

[33]See, for example, G. S. Becker, Human Capital (New York: The Columbia University Press, 1964); H. P. Miller, "Annual and Lifetime Income in Relation to Education, 1939-1959," American Economic Review, V. 50, No. 6 (Dec., 1960), pp. 962-86; T. W. Schultz, Economic Growth and Agriculture (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968), Ch. 2; Dael Wolfe, The Uses of Talent (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1971). Their writings assume additional significance when the reader examines more recent material. In an essay entitled "The Hidden Crisis in American Politics," Sam Lubbell warns that "the old politics of stability are disappearing." A new structure of bargaining is appearing, he submits, and it is a product of the struggle for political visibility. For "the greater the powers exercised by government the harsher become the costs of being neglected or overlooked." Wall Street Journal, Sept. 1, 1970, p. 6.

[34]Spitze, Op. Cit., p. 6.

separate parishes endures in the city at a time when Catholic schools across the country are closing. Collective bargaining episodes in the spring of 1971 became polarized over the issue of teachers' salaries, with the ECTA charging that the base figure offered by the board was far too low. And a sufficient number of young professional families is moving into Effingham to indicate that selective in-migration is occurring.

Any evaluation of my work as an observer of school-community patterns in Effingham must be viewed against the backdrop pictured above. For Effingham's greatest possibilities as well as its most ominous problems are integral parts of that scene. Joseph Lyford concluded in his study of Effingham's neighbor that "the talks in Vandalia do not support the American myth that a rural town today is a landlocked island inhabited by people who share an abiding complacency with each other."[35] Numerous incidents in Effingham during 1970-71 supported Lyford's generalization. Some have already been described. Others appear in the next few pages.

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[35]Joseph Lyford, The Talk in Vandalia (Santa Barbara, California: McNally and Lofton, 1964), p. 127.

Chapter 4

NO HEROES; NO VILLAINS

Sharing Power

A noted scholar in the field of institutional research recently commented that "the next decade will probably be one in which interpersonal trust may well be at a low ebb in many sectors of our society. This will mean an increase in the number of adversary kinds of configurance in governance."[1] As we enter the 'Seventies, trust does appear to be a scarce commodity on the national scene, with much of the uncertainty stemming from controversy surrounding United States actions in Viet Nam. This past year, 1970-71, also witnessed a series of conflicts in Effingham where misunderstandings, confusion, and personal insecurities fostered a climate of mistrust.

In a pluralistic society, rational men will disagree--especially about the purposes and goals of education. That such disagreement can lead to many types of confrontations is amply verified by events of the last decade. All social institutions, including schools, are likely to serve as settings in which new working relationships will have to be developed during the next few years. Much of this activity will occur without benefit of customary guidelines established by governmental or legal authorities. Consequently, the need to explore operational definitions of the concept of shared power in a spirit of trust and good-will

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[1]Harold L. Hodgkinson, "The Next Decade" The Research Reporter, Center for Research and Development in Higher Education, University of California, Berkeley, California, July 1970, p.5.

appears certain to become a major concern for the myriad school districts in this nation.

The issue of shared power cuts across job descriptions, institutional settings, and generations. Any attempt to deal with accountability and evaluation on a wide scale cannot escape the implications of sharing power for the adult, white, middle-class society and its dominant social-economic-political institutions. This situation presents an especially vexing problem for urban schools, but its influence dominated the atmosphere in which Effingham teachers, administrators, and board members operated in 1970-71. Unless all groups participating in the search for new working relationships realize that no side possesses "truth"; that "winning" and "losing" are obsolete concepts in negotiations where obtaining a feasible compromise is indeed a fine art, there is real danger that ostensibly school-centered exchanges will spill over into the community, thereby exacerbating and triggering other conflicts. It happened in Ocean-Hill-Brownsville[2] and in Effingham; no community should regard itself as immune.

Advocates and Adversaries

Decision-Making

> Our current mode of administering and managing our institutions is mainly by custom and practice built upon unchecked assumptions and conventions. We modify, adapt, and develop these methods by means of intuitive judgment, opinion, guesswork and rule-of-thumb, or by debating and arguing with each other within a framework of various types of political philosophy.

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[2]As described in Why Teachers Strike, Op. Cit.

> This empirical, rule-of-thumb approach does not work badly up to a point, so long as there is not too much disagreement about objectives and methods. . . .[3] (Italics added)

The statements above represent a judgment of bureaucratic organizations operating in the realm of employment, particularly their allegedly ill-effects on individuals, families, and society. Translation into the domain of education appears in the report of a four-year study of program development for talented students in the public schools of Illinois.

> Educators have always operated at the folklore level of knowledge, which means that rules of thumb are handed down innocent of investigation. This is especially true in developing programs and curricula. Most models are prescriptive ones based on a logical analysis of what should occur.[4]

One of the publications released by this project includes such statements as: "Rarely was a rational collective decision-making effort in evidence." . . . "In comparing the interviews of directors with those of teachers and students, it was apparent that the great majority of directors had very little idea of what was happening in the classroom." . . . "The role of the director indicates the great importance of having a strong advocate for the program within the district." . . . "In any case the sentiments of people in the district are of critical importance."[5] Warning that prescriptive models are prone to making program development a technical act, divorcing it from political considerations involving allocation of resources, the writers conclude: ". . . attending to

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[3]Elliott Jaques, Work, Creativity, and Social Justice (N.Y.: International Universities Press, Inc., 1971), p. 19.

[4]Ernest R. House, Joe M. Steele, Thomas Kerins, Development of Educational Programs: Advocacy in a Non-Rational System, Illinois Gifted Program Evaluation, CIRCE, University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana, Illinois, 1970.

[5] Ibid, pp. 14, 18, 21.

technical variables to the exclusion of political ones may be the surest way to destroy a new program."[6]

When "political" is interpreted as the art of decision-making in a democratic society its ramifications for all phases of educational activities assume powerful overtones. In Effingham during the spring semester of 1970-71, advocates became adversaries, curriculum decisions were intermingled with personnel problems, and, unfortunately, there was no "prescription" to remedy the situation.

Theory and Reality

Adversary proceedings have traditionally been identified with legal decisions. In recent years, however, they have been established as an administrative hearing process for judging cases involving opposing parties, with the "hearing officer" function becoming quite common on college campuses as an aftermath to the violent years of 1968-70. This system of litigation is based on the "fight" theory, i.e.,

> the facts in a case can best be ascertained if each side strives as hard as it can, in a keenly partisan spirit, to bring to the court's attention the evidence favorable to that side.[7]

A prominent judge has questioned the wisdom of applying the fight theory across different settings because the "partisanship of the opposing lawyers blocks the uncovering of vital evidence or leads to a presentation of vital testimony in a way that distorts it.[7]

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[6]Ibid., p. 25.

[7]Charles Auerbach and Others, "The Adversary System" The Legal Process (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Co., 1961), pp. 188-235.

[8]J. N. Frank, Courts on Trial (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1949), p. 81.

In a paper prepared for the American Educational Research Association Annual Meeting, February, 1971, Thomas R. Owens declared: "Some characteristics of adversary proceedings make them more appropriate than either a criminal or civil court model would be for educational decision-making."[9] While I am in agreement that this model can be usefully applied to the realm of education--and will cite specific instances later--its appearances in professional negotiations, where the arena moves through and beyond the schools and out into the community, creates extremely dangerous conditions and runs the risk of making the process of decision-making far more volatile and riskier than in the past.[10] From this perspective, Owens' example of a "trial run" conducted in the University of Hawaii Curriculum Center signifies the artificial atmosphere of a laboratory school. I would also submit that adversary proceedings are a logical accompaniment of calls for shared power and will affect diverse types of public institutions in the next decade.

Value analysis is inherent in the process of making decisions when the adversary approach is used, Owens writes, adding that this method "could also be used <u>to reveal the way in which various group representatives interpret the same data</u>."[11] (his italics) Professional negotiations

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[9]Thomas R. Owens, "Application of Adversary Proceedings to Educational Evaluation and Decision-Making," Center for Planning and Evaluation, San Jose, California, p. 2. (mimeo reprint)

[10]In testimony at hearings conducted by the Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, Springfield, June 29, 1971, the adversary approach was eloquently attacked by a superintendent whose system was caught up in its throes. He charged that it results in unintended behaviors by both sides, that neither group seems able to avoid aggravating the conflict elements. The same situation prevailed in Effingham.

[11]Owens, <u>Op. Cit.</u>, p. 4.

in Effingham spotlighted the latter point and, in all likelihood, added new dimensions to its significance. Furthermore, it is my belief that collective bargaining procedures dramatically change the context in which school personnel work, with community perceptions of educators and schools fundamentally altered in the process. Anyone engaged in university-public school liaison activities is likewise affected by these dynamics--as I was--and future collaboration between higher education and the schools, such as in teacher training, must allow for changes fostered by new personnel policies.[12] A brief review of events in Effingham supports these conclusions.

Leadership Development

The Effingham Classroom Teachers Association began operations in September of 1970 with a young junior high school math teacher as its president. His predecessor was a woman science teacher, also in the junior high school, and recipient of an award as Illinois Teacher of the Year in 1969-70. Association dues were regarded as fairly high--about seventy-five dollars--and a policy change at the national level had forced local teachers to join their own unit, the state body known as the Illinois Education Association, and the national parent organization, if they wanted to become members of the ECTA. This change was worrying the president at our initial meeting, and he displayed considerable anxiety about the forthcoming year.

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[12]For example, Effingham's superintendent remarked that, if placement of student teachers becomes a negotiated item in the master agreement, the district will close out its training of practice teachers. But the choice may not be an administrative one. Leaders of the IEA are striving for control of placement of student teachers through action by local chapters. The executive-secretary of the Milwaukee Teachers Association told this writer that his organization would control entry into the city's teaching ranks by 1972.

I had asked to meet with Bob during the first week of school because of my own concern regarding the feasibility of working with both teachers and administrators. I went into this session operating on a hunch that it was going to be extremely difficult to retain credibility among all groups connected with the school system. Time and events confirmed that belief; in fact, I underestimated the depth and magnitude of the developing forces, primarily because I was not completely attuned to the sincerity and dedication which Bob was bringing to his position as a teacher-leader. Board members, in particular, and--to a lesser degree--the administration were consistently misguided by their perceptions of Bob as a young man, not firmly established, who lacked some of the skills and background normally identified with leadership in the community. They were misled on two counts. Teacher organizations at the grass roots level are becoming excellent training forums for leadership and for the development of a cadre of politically-skilled individuals. They have a cause encompassing political, social, economic, and intellectual elements. State and national bodies provide them with a support system of additional resources--material and human. A sense of organization is welding both young and older teachers into a unit which sees itself as increasingly "professional."[13] For example, there were instances when older women

[13]This sense of professionalism has more than one dimension. Urbana School District 116 was hit by a strike in the fall of 1970. Comments by teachers there are quite similar to statements made by their contemporaries in Effingham, although the strike in Urbana has given its teachers a broader perspective on academic issues.

> What teachers want is the opportunity to start afresh, without the strictures of accumulated rules and regulations, to develop an innovative program, within legal

(footnote continued on next page)

teachers near retirement became incensed over statements made by the superintendent or the board, with the result that the former's civic ties of long-standing in an essentially conservative and stable setting were momentarily ruptured, and they rallied to the organization.

Both sides made mistakes in the course of professional negotiations. As noted above, the administration was not sufficiently alert to the growing organizational strength and unity symbolized by the Classroom Teachers Association. Many of the former's actions during 1970-71 reinforced that solidarity and provided it with new "causes." Teacher organizations, however, will have to face up to the fact that they cannot adopt the patterns and tactics of unions and still expect parents and other adults to see them as dedicated to the welfare of children. The latter case may remain a valid one, but it will not be perceived as such. New relationships will have to be developed.

Teacher spokesmen were upset by the editor of the Daily News who constantly referred to their use of "union" activities. His perception,

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(footnote 13 continued) requirements, that is based on the needs of youth and of our society today. They want the opportunity to see what they can do on their own with such complete involvement in curriculum planning by teachers, parents, and students that everyone would feel this is their school. Its success or failure would be dependent on the commitment and creativity of each individual involved. The idea is based on the concept prevalent in education today that people perform more productively when they are involved in the design and implementation of a project. . . .

Teachers have been living on dedication to their profession for long enough. That is why we have teacher strikes. It is time we get paid for a job that requires an expensive education, continuing training, considerable intelligence, patience and understanding, plus long hours of work. (Champaign-Urbana Courier, July 16, 1971, p. 29.)

granted, is an influential one, but it is shared by other residents of the community. A young woman teacher, for example, was ordered out of her boyfriend's home when his father became upset over the teacher's espousal of higher salaries. In general, I felt that teachers were underrating the discrepancies between starting salaries of young, single teachers, as an extreme illustration, and the incomes received by workingmen of the community who were long-time, highly respected residents and heads of families. Ultimately, teacher organizations growing more "professional" and demanding are likely to incur community wrath, particularly in rural sectors, over salary issues and working conditions. Of course, legislation creating a statewide salary schedule and a unitary system of tax support could forestall such developments, although it would generate other conflicts.

On balance, the ECTA lost its major battle of the year--i.e., a fight for higher salaries. In my judgment, though, teachers emerged from negotiations much stronger than their adversaries. And their strengths are those which will be in great demand during the 1970s.[14]

During my initial meeting with the ECTA President, I directed attention to the purpose of our study in Effingham. Anticipating that

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[14]I was much impressed by the statements of Dan Tuttle, former executive secretary of the Hawaii Education Association. Dr. Tuttle views the adversary model of negotiations in Hawaii as concentrating too much on past events and history, a characteristic also revealed in Effingham, but he maintains that it should serve as a good barometer for guiding future political relations of all types. On the other hand, Tuttle warned against using programs as trade-off ploys. Trying for excessive demands in the public realm is a mistake, he cautioned, because it runs the risk of humiliating legislators and city officials and jeopardizes their credibility in the political arena. (As noted in his presentation in a Legislative Workshop for OEO Community Action personnel, Honolulu, Hawaii, Dec. 21, 1970.)

questions would be raised about my behavior, I said my role was that of a neutral observer, that I would not knowingly violate his confidence and would honor the same code with the administration and the board. We shared an amicable lunch, engaged in friendly debate over the "professional" nature of school boards as contrasted with their need to be seen as "representative." Bob took the former stance; I held to the latter. It was a pleasant, informative interlude. A few weeks later the relationship begun here was sorely tested.

New Rules

Following considerable deliberation in the early fall, the board decided to hire a consultant from Springfield to assist the administration in handling professional negotiations. This act was not an impetuous one, and it was mainly precipitated by personal and professional strains exerted on the board's chief negotiator of the previous year, a building principal. Some of the board members and two of the key administrators agonized over the decision. They saw it as irrevocably changing the course of future events in school-community relations as well as affecting internal policies. The assistant superintendent, a lifetime resident of the area, was especially shaken by the action. His fears were well-grounded.

In seizing the initiative, the administration took a calculated risk. The action did cause people in the community to wonder why $2,500 was being paid to an "outsider." Teachers did use the incident as a weapon in their tactics later in the year. Personally, I thought it was a wise move, albeit a risk-taking effort, and so stated to both the administration and the teachers. Collective bargaining is a difficult and trying operation, particularly for rural school systems, where it is just emerging,

and especially in Illinois because the legislature has not passed a bill incorporating any guidelines to govern such activities.[15] Few administrators in any system have had specific training for the task, and there is no denying that negotiations will absorb the energies of administrative officers charged with such responsibilities. School-associated duties suffer--and Effingham is only one of several systems to discover this reality.[16] The administration in Effingham moved decisively, encountered problems that numerous districts in the state were still struggling with in late summer, 1971; resolved, at least temporarily, many of those problems, and inevitably changed the course of staff relations for the future.

The decision to hire a management consultant was made in an executive session. I knew the action was to take place, but my presence in the meeting was to inform board members of developments in the Urbana strike. When the board reconvened formal ratification of the decision was duly announced and recorded. Bob, who usually attended all board meetings, was temporarily stunned. Shortly thereafter, he left for a few minutes. Upon his return, Bob asked if we could meet following the

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[15]Attempts to do so failed in the legislative session just concluded. The Legal Counsel for the OSPI stated that, in his opinion, educators did not work hard to promote the passage of a "good bill." (OSPI Hearings, June 29, 1971.)

[16]Sam Sieber's observation that his work in schools caught up in episodes of collective bargaining found a marked drop-off in productivity was confirmed in my experience in Effingham. ("Organizational Influences on Innovative Roles," Knowledge Production and Utilization in Educational Administration, ed. by Terry Eidell and Joanne M. Kitchell, Eugene, Oregon: Center for the Advanced Study of Educational Administration, 1968, p. 124.)

session's close. I agreed, for it wasn't difficult to sense that serious questions about my involvement in the evening's major event were appropriate. Later, Bob said: "You know, I don't think you had a hand in that decision. And some of the people I called don't think so either. But we want to hear it from you." I replied: "You're right. I didn't have anything to do with it, although I think it's a wise policy. But I will add something else. The board has changed the rules of the game and you'd better react accordingly." Then we discussed for another hour or so what the action meant in terms of needed skills on the part of teacher representatives.

My first encounter with an executive sessions was obviously a singularly important one. The experience left me with an impression that was confirmed repeatedly during the school year--namely, that the fewer closed sessions held, the better.[17] Rumors and distrust feed on secretiveness, particularly in a time of uncertainty and suspicion. Collective bargaining in the schools demands a host of new behaviors on the part of everyone, including students and community residents observing the exchanges, if it is to eventually fashion a more contemporary and viable form of education. These changes cannot be engendered and sustained in hostile climates.

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[17]This same issue is treated at length in "Seminar Overview: The Challenge of Leadership," William E. Dickinson; in New Dimensions in School Board Leadership, ed. by William E. Dickinson (Evanston, Illinois: National School Boards Association, Inc., 1969), pp. 9-28. The wisdom of executive sessions was also questioned during the OSPI hearings in Springfield, June 29, 1971.

Conventional Wisdom

Collective bargaining--its merits and demerits--never received a fair trial in Effingham during 1970-71 because salary issues quickly became a benchmark for judging every action, every statement.

Impasse was declared shortly after the advent of 1971, and the two adversaries prepared positions, sought assistance, and began a series of exchanges that climaxed with the ECTA voting "no confidence" in the superintendent and the board's formal reply emphasizing that teachers who felt they could not work under present conditions should feel free to leave the system. While the propriety of both statements could be questioned, given the community setting in which they were to be interpreted, they represented the climax of long, wearying sessions in which people tried gamely--but to no avail--to reach agreement. Adversary proceedings not only reveal the different ways in which individuals and groups interpret the same information, they also belie a long-held belief about communication: "Just help people to understand each other, give them a chance to communicate, and they'll work things out." Much of what passes for analysis of communicative patterns reflects that bit of folklore. The possibility that conditions may worsen when the parties actually do comprehend what one another is saying has seldom received due attention. Appraisals of civil rights actions led by cries of "Black Power," and resultant countermovements by elements of white society in recent years, show that such an awareness is developing. It was reinforced by the course of negotiations in Effingham.

Teachers turned to the Illinois Education Association for assistance; the administration consulted with the OSPI, the Illinois Association

of School Boards, the Illinois School Administrators Association, and a consultant firm staffed, in large part, by retired administrators and former officials in the OSPI. Eventually the chief spokesman for the ECTA was a young lawyer and member of the Illinois General Assembly. Representing the administration was a much older man, formerly a high official in the OSPI, and prior to that period a county superintendent of schools and school administrator. The young lawyer has a brother who was executive-secretary for the Champaign-Urbana Teachers Association when that organization was "bloodied" by a bitter strike in Urbana. Also available to the ECTA were the services of two experienced field consultants on the Illinois Education Association staff. Battle lines for the "fight theory" could not have been more starkly drawn: on one side, an emerging employee group with numerous human resources committed to it, both internally and externally, and buoyed by a feeling that members were fighting for the future as well as the present; on the other side, an institutional force representing--in microcosmic form--a traditional pillar of society, tied to wisdom of the past but still possessing lingering vestiges of power, and operating on a firm belief that it spoke for a community of interests and people.

Each of the adversaries made grievous errors, principally because the ECTA did not anticipate the manifold ways in which power can manifest itself; and the administration and board were not sufficiently alert to changes in the social fabric of both school and city versions of a "community of interests." Changes in Effingham are symptomatic of a pervasive national trend. An advocate for teachers in Urbana indicated

support of recent NEA policy statements in his response to a critical newspaper editorial.

> For years teachers' organizations have been taking stands on issues without any power to act on them in their school. Teachers have finally realized that if there is to be a change, they (the teachers) must have some of the say-so in the decision-making to bring about that change.[18]

The administration and board won the battle; it held to the original salary offer. Teachers rallied their forces, solidified their ranks for future engagements, and developed more leadership. Community residents and students learned a great deal from their participation in the informal, and often spontaneous and unrehearsed, transactions.[19]

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[18]Champaign-Urbana Courier, July 14, 1971, p. 10.

[19]A prototypical example of this learning is mirrored in a letter to the editor of the Daily News. Not only does it reflect information gained from the collective bargaining exchanges, it is also tinged with rural Populist feelings concerning the actions of governmental agencies.

> Another tax year has rolled around. Having just finished with U.S. and State of Illinois, I anticipate the receipt of Effingham Co. tax bill.
>
> It is with thorough disgust I pay for the towering bureaucracy of the Federal Government, the unwarranted welfare of the State and the brilliant investment of the local institutions.
>
> . . .
>
> Why $900 raises for administrators and $100 for teachers? Is this where the true value lies? . . .
>
> With all the excess of funds in Unit 40 why the highest textbook rental in the area? The highest cost of lunches for students?
>
> . . . What about that $2500 of my tax money used to hire someone to bargain against the teachers? . . .
>
> Last but not least what about this zoning I've been paying for?

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Combined with news releases handled by local and regional media, the series of activities provided a huge classroom setting for residents, one in which they were forced to compare statements made by trusted officials of the school district, some of whom they had known for years, with professional opinions of accountants and lawyers from the outside. How can the same data mean so many different things?

The Costs

In October of 1970 the Illinois Association of School Boards (IASB) held its annual meeting in Chicago. The theme of the sessions was "Accountability," which was an appropriate topic for more reasons than those acknowledged in Chicago. For the costs to schools and communities that are being exacted by application of collective bargaining procedures, including adversary proceedings, to the educational arena are high. They are visibly high; hidden costs may well be greater. Many lawyers attending the IASB meeting expressed strong reservations about use of the adversary system in school negotiations. A comprehensive and provocative analysis of collective bargaining procedures as they apply to negotiations in the public domain was written by E. Wright Bakke, Sterling Professor of Economics, Yale University.[20] Certain of his comments hold special

(footnote 19 continued)

> John Q. Taxpayer, are you still sitting on your haunches waiting for someone else to clean up the bureaus, the welfare and local institutions? Did you ever hear of Effingham County Taxpayers for Better Government? Give someone your support to find out where your tax dollar is going! (Effingham Daily News, May 6, 1971, p. 3.)

[20]"Reflections on the Future of Bargaining in the Public Sector," Monthly Labor Review, V. 93, No. 7 (July, 1970), pp. 21-25.

significance for interpreting events in Effingham and elsewhere.

> Based upon the consensus that is developing in some areas and the uncertainties remaining in others, it seems to me that seven trends can be identified in the evolution of collective bargaining in the public sector. In brief, here is what appears to lie ahead.
>
> Unionization in the public sector is going to increase rapidly and extensively.
>
> Union action in the foreseeable future is going to be militant.
>
> The achievement of collective power is going to become the major objective of union leaders for a considerable period.
>
> The combination of political and economic bargaining strategies and tactics will disturb for some time the pattern of collective bargaining between public management and public employees unions and associations.
>
> The civil service concept of personnel policy and arrangements is going to suffer and be severely modified.
>
> The public is going to pay a big price for what public employees gain.
>
> Despite this, nothing is going to stop the introduction and spread of collective bargaining in the public sector.[21]

Bakke supports his generalizations with additional details. Excerpts appearing below are those of special pertinence to episodes in Effingham, for they represent ideas whose importance was not grasped by the board and administration.

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[21] Ibid., p. 21. A foreign economist shares Bakke's feeling about the costs exacted by present forms of collective bargaining.

> The evidence from all countries demonstrates with overwhelming clarity that under modern conditions 'free' collective bargaining inevitably produces extremely difficult economic and social problems. The challenge before collective bargaining is to retain the system's advantages, which permit participation in determining the conditions of life surrounding the work process, without imposing social costs which society will ultimately refuse to bear. (Benjamin O. Roberts, "Social Costs of Bargaining: A European Perspective," Monthly Labor Review, V. 94, No. 8 (August, 1971), p. 59.

When an effort is made to present effectively the human and professional interests shared by the whole group some person has to speak up. Lacking the support of the united front of an organized group, that person is likely to be labeled a trouble-maker, an agitator, disloyal, and other terms scarcely designed to increase that person's job security.

. . .

There is a basis for a community of interests among teachers and many other public employees. Identification arises through common skills and standards of performance, similarity in type and extent of training and in status in the eyes of the community, and the dependence of individual status on the status of the group as a whole. When there is this community of interest, the other bases for collective organized representation are reinforced. If that community of interest is exaggerated by the commonly experienced sense of being left behind by more privileged groups, or being as a group taken for granted, the predisposition is increased.[22] (all italics added)

A third category of probabilities suggested by Bakke ties events in Effingham to state and national issues.[23]

> Ineptness and inexperience are certain to produce militant attitudes on both sides. Even as they gain experience, the confusion over how far public employers can go and still meet their governing obligations and their ultimate responsibilities to the public is going to produce puzzling uncertainties. . . .
>
> Associations like the National Education Association and civil service associations have already begun to adopt coercive tactics to prove themselves as they compete for members with the more traditional type of unions. . . .
>
> The social atmosphere is charged with militancy. If the revolt of women gains momentum, it will be another important factor. Over half of public servants are women.
>
> The use of the strike by public servants is not going to be legitimized, but the strike or some other form of reduction or withdrawal of services having the same impact is going to be used extensively nevertheless. . . . The record of successes by public employees who have resorted to strikes encourages confidence that, notwithstanding its illegality, it is a method that gets results.

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[22] Ibid., p. 22.

[23] Ibid., pp. 22-23.

> I happen to believe that impasse procedures and mechanisms, once they are perfected and generally available, will reduce that development.

Adversary proceedings in Effingham seriously challenged previous findings regarding the low probability of conflict in small communities arising out of school-related issues. While it is true that Effingham schools, like most rural institutions, have a basically homogeneous student population with respect to background and perceived values, events occurring there in 1970-71 question a statement that "the more homogeneous the community, the less conflict or controversy will occur involving the school."[24] Collective bargaining in the public sector will rigorously test the validity of that conclusion. In fact, homogeneity could very well intensify the degree of conflict, once it is initiated, because of the lasting influence of basic assumptions concerning "proper" conduct.

Two features stand out above all others in assessing the transactions of collective bargaining in Effingham. First is the relationship of school boards to state government and the latter's ties to the federal constitution. Second is the necessity to work out new relationships between all those functioning inside our schools--teachers, administrators, students, and non-academic staff. True, these changes will affect school-community relations, an area of growing priority and tension, but the situation <u>inside</u> the schools faces an imperative need for some

[24]Frieda L. Gehlen, "The Political Aspects of Small Town and Rural Schools," <u>Proceedings of a National Working Conference on Solving Educational Problems in Sparsely Populated Areas</u>, March 17-19, 1969, Denver, Colorado, Educational Resources Information Center Clearinghouse on Rural Education and Small Schools, June, 1969, p. 46.

type of stabilization in order to deal effectively with evolving community expectations. I was encouraged by the trend of events in Effingham, and I'm cautiously optimistic about the development of needed relationships. But the costs are there, They affect personal relationships, sever professional bonds, sow distrust and suspicion, and create almost unbearable physical and psychic strains on individuals directly involved. Minor illness, psychosomatic and otherwise, were prevalent by late spring. The eventual gains to the community, state, and nation will have to be very worthwhile to warrant such costly short-term conditions.

Breaking the Law

School attorneys in Illinois, in company with other legal experts, agree that teacher strikes are illegal under present laws. Five instructors in Kankakee have served jail sentences for leading a strike in defiance of court injunctions. According to the executive-secretary of the IASB, speaking at a conference in Effingham, April 5, 1971, a collective bargaining bill for teachers would be vetoed by Governor Ogilvie if it contained a "right to strike" provision, but could not pass the Senate without one. Since, in the speaker's words, "the three states with the toughest 'no-strike' clause also have the greatest number of strikes, walk-outs, etc.," much of the delay seems mindless.[25] His assessment was on target: no bill was approved.

[25]Proceedings of the Semi-Annual Conference and Dinner Meeting, Wabash Valley Division, Illinois Association of School Boards, April 15, 1971.

Effingham teachers vowed early that they would not strike. Sensitivity to local mores, coupled with a residue of ill feelings carried over from a fight concerning teacher placement the previous year, mandated this policy, they stressed. It was, in my judgment, a wise decision, one from which they will reap benefits in the future. Their dilemma, though, is shared by board adversaries, because both groups are awash in a sea of confusion regarding the legality of certain actions.

School boards are creations of state government. A devout belief in the virtues of local control as embodied in the State of Illinois School Code has led to past decisions and actions based on the authenticity of that belief in the real world. The wave of lawsuits over student rights occurring in the closing years of the 1960s was a startling reminder that local boards are indeed responsible to provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment.[26] Also, the focus on student rights should not blind observers to evidence that the issue is not simply one of civil rights for young people but mandates responses to new interpretations of civil rights at many levels of society. Traditional versions of local control philosophy and conduct seem certain to be shattered, as they have been by desegregation rulings in the South, with teachers ultimately sharing more responsibility for decision-making in school operations. Predictions as to how instructors will react as students and parents take on a more active stance are another story.

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[26]In the OSPI hearings, June 29, 1971, the Legal Counsel warned that secondary schools were procrastinating on this issue--in fact, retrogressing. He cited Robert L. Ackerly's treatment of "Reactions to the Reasonable Exercise of Authority" as supporting documentation. (National Association of Secondary School Principals Bulletin, No. 352 [Feb., 1971], pp. 1-12).

The social history of the United States indicates that individuals and groups have responded favorably to calls for responsible behavior when they have shared in decisions affecting their lives. This practice has barely rippled the surface of most public schools operations.[27] In addition to a spelling out of their legal implications for life inside the schools, adherence to concepts of shared power and changing interpretations of civil rights will force school boards to carefully examine the relationship between teacher competency and militant behavior.

Role Expectations

Studies of talented people indicate they are frequently individualistic to the extreme and dissatisfied with the status quo.[28] Consequently, the appearance of highly respected teachers at the head of organizational drives among their colleagues should not surprise anyone, most of all, it seems, school administrators. Nevertheless, I have yet to encounter a school setting where such behavior does not come as a shock to superintendents and principals. In Belleville, over five years ago, where teacher unions gained an early foothold, administrators simply could not understand why their "best" teachers were leaders of the movement.[29]

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[27]This same point received attention in another setting. The commission investigating racial turmoil at White Plains, New York, High School deplored the lack of student voices in decisions which they had to implement. (High School Racial Confrontation: A Study of the White Plains, New York, Student Boycott, The White Plains Board of Education, February 4, 1969.)

[28]See, for example, Research Summary on Gifted Child Education, Gifted Program Development Section, Department for Exceptional Children, OSPI, Springfield, Illinois, 1966, pp. 25-42.

[29]A prophetic study reported in the mid-1960s found that the "more professionally oriented teachers" also were more likely to exhibit militancy.
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The same situation prevailed in Effingham. For example, a young math teacher in the high school has replaced Bob as president of the ECTA. "Why?" asked the superintendent, "would a promising young man like Dan want to take on a position like that?" I replied: "Well, for one thing, he wants to be an administrator." "What!" was the response. "Yes," I countered, "for what better experience could you have to meet future administrative demands than to serve as head of a teachers association?" Though my analysis was eventually accepted, there remains a prevalent feeling among board members, administrators, and some townspeople that "good teachers" just don't do such things. Especially women.

There are two pictures, one in the entrance to District 40 central offices, an identical counterpart in Central School, which portray the confusion surrounding negotiations in the Effingham system. The portrait features former Superintendent of Public Instruction Ray Page, the county superintendent of schools, a retired teacher, the current superintendent of District 40, and the person selected as Illinois Teacher of the Year, 1969-70. A science instructor at Central, formerly director of inservice training, a consultant for both public schools and the IEA, and a practicing ecologist before the term became common currency, this woman now represents a mixed blessing for the administration. Leader of the ECTA negotiating team last year, in 1970-71 Fern served as member of the team

(footnote 29 continued)
(See Ronald G. Corwin's "Militant Professionalism, Initiative and Compliance in Public Education," Sociology of Education, V. 38, No. 3 (Summer, 1965), pp. 310-331.)

and as an advisor to her successor. Her constituency is widely varied because she works effectively with slow learners as well as gifted youngsters. She is willing to challenge men, and District 40's board has a history of male dominance with only a few exceptions, one of those resulting from last April's elections. Above all, Fern's behavior reflects a stirring among many women throughout the land, viz., a demand for due recognition of feminine contributions.

Central School was the working base of three members of the ECTA negotiating team. In addition to Bob and Fern, there was Ann, the librarian.

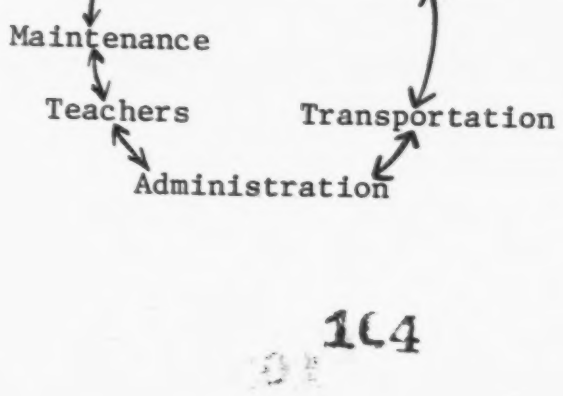
In April, St. Anthony High School students produced The Music Man. Its depiction of rural America struck a responsive chord in Effingham, and the role of Marian, the librarian, matched the perceptions many viewers held of librarians and women school teachers. Consequently, the appearance of Ann on the negotiating team was, perhaps, justifiably overlooked by the opposition--but not for long. Her iron-willed determination combined with a strong sense of social justice and a plethora of intellectual skills to represent a great asset for teachers. Ann's writing ability, and her penchant for assessing weaknesses in her own as well as the opponent's arguments, gave the ECTA a weapon the board found difficult to match, even with outside help.

If negotiations in Effingham can serve as a legitimate criterion for predicting the course of future developments, it is apparent that members of school boards and their top-level administrators, the overwhelming majority of whom are men, will face increasing difficulties in the immediate future. This prediction is not based solely on the

widening sweep of collective bargaining procedures but also is related to the presence of competent and outspoken women among the ranks of teachers. Effingham officials are justly proud of the lady who acts as head custodian at the high school and of the women who drive school buses; they lavished praise on Fern and basked in her reflected glory as Teacher of the Year--now they are forced to deal with her in a different setting, and they understandably don't like it. However, the issues posed here are not confined to schools despite the major role women have played in American classrooms. Rather it is the questions that a rising feminist movement, powered by demands for long delayed personal and professional recognition, presents for all parts of our society.

The Family

"Progress in programs, facilities, and services is possible only to the degree that each member of the family realizes his objectives and contributions and works to effect them." This passage appeared in the October 23, 1970 issue of Grapevine, District 40's newsletter, and its symbol, which is depicted below is emblazoned on the door of the assistant superintendent. His statement in the Grapevine concluded with these words: "It is indeed a privilege for me to be associated and work with the Unit 40 Family in our educational endeavor."



Urban teachers would be startled to receive such a friendly, sincere note from an assistant superintendent who signs his name "Brad." Long ago, they became accustomed to the formal, impersonal communications marking exchanges between administrators and teachers in city school systems. In both cases, the messages from upper levels of school hierarchy have little influence on their intended audiences, for "the days of simple board discretion, and hierarchical authority, are dead."[30] Unionized teachers in Chicago have acted on this knowledge for several years; their rural counterparts in Effingham joined them as the new decade opened.

Stephen Bailey writes: "School boards unskilled in the mysteries of collective bargaining will not long retain their innocence or their power."[31] A corollary might suggest that teachers will likewise lose their traditional virtues in the process of seeking power. This maxim holds true for the experienced as well as the inexperienced: Urbana teachers have dissension in their ranks as a result of an unsatisfactory conclusion to last year's strike; Effingham instructors could not return to yesterday's role as members of the family even if they so desired. They participated in a series of exchanges where their disruptive acts were abetted by the board and its administrators. All three participants were both actors and acted upon because their role behaviors were regarded as inappropriate for the stage and the setting.

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[30]Stephen K. Bailey, "New Dimensions in School Board Leadership," Op. Cit., p. 106.

[31]Ibid.

Teachers and administrators alike failed to recognize that a school district is an interdependent system, even though "The Family" motto evokes such thoughts. Negotiations were an intervention into that complex alignment--i.e., teachers were trying to create certain changes; the board was trying to prevent them. Resultant actions by both parties, naturally, represented additional changes. In the process, both sides activated forces which had apparently little, if any, relationship to the usual function of schools. Administrators were trying to act out a part that lost much of its meaning and significance once the decision was made to hire a professional consultant to handle negotiations.[32] Good intentions on both sides were lost amidst the "false" signals spawned by the way in which actual behavior was perceived. The development and use of a personnel evaluation instrument was a prime example of the confusion.

The item was designed for two purposes: (1) to honor demands for accountability; (2) to force building principals and supervisors to spend more time in observing classroom practices.[33] It was a characteristic move on the part of the superintendent, reflecting a sense of purpose, initiative, boldness, and some risk. In a conversation with him in November, I asked: "Will teachers see principals

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[32]Schools are not alone in this situation. Confusion still reigns in communities where city managers have been hired to cope with actual administrative demands but mayors and commissioners or aldermen try to fulfill their former responsibilities too.

[33]The technical quality of the instrument was praised by colleagues in CIRCE who work in the field of instrumentation.

as credible evaluators?" He replied that he was not certain but thought the action would help alleviate the problem "of getting principals to visit classrooms." In the final analysis, we were both wrong. Teachers were not as upset as I had anticipated about use of the instrument, and their reaction is suggestive of a point on which to build organizational renewal; but collective bargaining activities have strained the relationships between administrators, supervisors, and directors, on the one hand, and teachers on the other, and all of them must cooperate if evaluation is to be effective.

Once negotiations began in earnest, divisions grew more rigid, bargaining sessions became increasingly heated, and loyalty bloomed as a prized attribute. Even the athletic department, normally a closely knit group, experienced some uneasiness.

In a memo sent to Effingham administrators, September 23, 1970, I commented:

> Your school information material has the (curriculum director), the (band director), and the (athletic director) listed as teachers. Yet they are identified in the professional negotiations master agreement as administrators. If you have a tough year in negotiations, it seems likely these three men could be caught in a crossfire.

They were. Furthermore, it is fair to anticipate that difficulties will increase in 1971-72 unless the rift is healed. For all three work mainly in the high school context, where the center of teacher leadership will be located and where a young principal is also working in the same setting of confused relationships.

The strength of "The Family" ties inherited from past years was an important factor in preventing a total breakdown of school

affairs during the spring term. But it was the proverbial last gasp of a dying institutional vestige. Negotiations were officially ended in May; summer news releases by the ECTA indicated that adversary proceedings were still alive.

Schools may prosper in Effingham because dedicated and competent workers can realize their objectives and make their contributions without accepting the idea of an integrated "team effort." But the transition will exact its costs. It will not be easy.

Chapter 5

MAYBE C. P. SNOW WAS WRONG

Avant-Garde in Arcadia

Schools are pivotal institutions--social and political issues focus there. Schools provide avenues for gauging future developments in the public arena of employee-employer relations, an important element in an increasingly services-oriented economy. Schools began as a response to modern society's need to educate and inculcate its young. Today, the costs of that endeavor are constantly debated--and, perhaps, most of all, by the young.

During 1970-71 I spent numerous hours with high school students in Effingham. I concentrated particularly on a senior English class composed of both parochial and public school students, living on farms as well as in town, with Catholic students participating on a dual-enrollment basis. Members of a demonstration class sponsored by the Illinois Gifted Program, taught by an outstanding logician and linguist, and representing much of the youthful academic elite of the community, these students may indeed comprise an illusory base for predicting future trends. I suspect not; instead, I prefer to see them as younger counterparts of the university students described by Alaine Touraine of France.

> The student revolt is not merely a crisis of the adaptation of the universities to the modern society, nor is it only a revolt of youth against tradition. Rather, it signals the birth of new conflicts, the first act in the drama of putting the new computerized state on trial. But it is within the universities that its future lies, <u>because it is there that learning takes place</u>.[1](italics added)

[1]Source unknown.

Support for the opinion stated above is furnished by a study of rural youth in Michigan.[2]

> We are very likely to have more and more cohesion among adolescents; not only among those in the universities but also among those in the high schools. The student youth movement will intensify. As a part of this process, student unions will emerge such as those in Belgium, France, Holland, and Japan.[3]
>
> . . .
>
> Youth's status uncertainty, their exploitation by commercial interests, the revolution in communications, our intransigence with respect to giving them positions of real responsibility, and the growing importance of higher education for career success, will result in a crystallization of a sense of common grievance among the youth of 1980.[4]

However, interviews and informal exchanges with members of Rhetoric IV and other students in the two high schools did not confirm the degree of "radical" change implied by the Michigan studies. Instead, work done in Pennsylvania in preparation for the White House Conference on Children and Youth provides information more congruent with results obtained in Effingham. The Temple Survey in that state discovered that a majority of high school students were content with their situation. Schools were perceived as good; disagreements with parents concerned minor issues. Pennsylvania did report growing disillusionment

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[2]Project '80: Rural Michigan Now and in 1980, Research Report No. 39, Rural Family Living and Rural Youth, Agricultural Experiment Station, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan, 1968, p. 17.

[3]A recent F.B.I. report notes that disruptions have decreased on college campuses but that violence in the high schools has increased, with the base for such discontent apparently widening in recent years. (Champaign-Urbana Courier, July 28, 1971, p. 32.)

[4]Project '80, Op. Cit., p. 18.

among secondary students, declaring that it "appears to increase with grades."[5] I too found such indications, particularly among non-college bound seniors. Part of this reaction apparently mirrors a condition noted by Margaret Mead concerning the sharp break in cultural experiences occurring with each passing year.[6] But the most influential change with respect to Effingham youth is described in the Michigan report.

> There is an illusion. . . about a traditional way of life and its values; it seems that one of the important experiences of rural youth is that they will emancipate themselves from this illusion. They will catch up with reality. It will be an education that will enlarge their perspectives of the life in which they will be a part; furthermore, it will provide an enlarging, less parochial set of experiences for them.[7]

A clear majority of the seniors interviewed in Effingham would like to settle down in "towns like it." They anticipate marked changes in the site, although they do not believe it will become a "huge" city. They, their teachers, youth workers, and some of the parents expressed a greater need, as a senior girl stated, "to know what's happening."[8]

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[5]As cited in For the House of Tomorrow: A Report to the Honorable Raymond P. Shafer, Governor of Pennsylvania, by the Committee on Children and Youth of the Governor's Council for Human Services, Oct. 7, 1969, p. 17.

[6]See the Christian Science Monitor, April 10, 1969, p. 1.

[7]Project '80, Op. Cit., p. 19.

[8]A recent survey of one thousand secondary students, grades 10-12, in seventy-four Ohio schools found that a "need for more and better communications between students and administrators and between students and teachers" emerged as the major source of difficulty. The researchers pointed out that, while a majority of students interviewed still cling to traditional values, the numbers questioning the economic system, believing the government needs reform, and decrying a lack of communication within their schools was too large to be ignored. This study was prepared by R. H. Goettler and Associates, Columbus, Ohio, 1969-70.

This cry, perhaps, was the major characteristic of responses made by members of Rhetoric IV. It also represents the basis for my belief that this unique classroom setting, like so many of the critical things that go unheeded in a community's history, was symbolic of a new era.

Time and Circumstance

Onward and Upward

All but one of the students enrolled in Duane Neet's Rhetoric IV class planned to enter higher education.[9] Almost one-third of the twenty-six members will attend the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Both patterns represent a distinct break with the past. Only a handful of their mothers attended college, and those were involved in teacher training. Less than half of their fathers graduated from a college or university. Over the years the vast majority of Effingham graduates who attended college enrolled at Eastern Illinois University--it's closer, cheaper, smaller, and regarded as less forbidding and impersonal than its huge sister institution fifty miles north. Not all parents were happy with the choices of their sons and daughters to attend the University of Illinois, and I vigorously intervened on behalf of two girls.

In 1951 my public school teaching career began at Evanston Township High School, Evanston, Illinois. I was not prepared for the extremely high percentage of professionally trained parents encountered there, in part because of my rural background. A generation

[9]He joined the Marine Corps in August, 1971.

later, the educational expectations characteristic of Evanston and New Trier are evident in Effingham. The students headed for the U. of I.--and there are others beside those in Rhetoric IV--encompass career programs ranging from special education through modern dance to engineering-law. Despite lurid tales of campus riots, of student communes, of the drug scene, and in the face of considerable parental anxiety, these young people are launching a pattern of career aspirations that appears certain to affect their families, particularly the lives of their younger brothers and sisters.[10]

It is not only the change in career orientations that distinguishes the Class of 1971. Enrollment at Eastern in previous years did more than indicate the student was interested in pursuing a career in teaching or business; it also signified that he was remaining in essentially the same social environment, surrounded by students of comparable backgrounds and goals, and returning home on weekends as befitted an individual attending a "suitcase college." In this setting the values he brought to the institution were seldom challenged. A rural

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[10]A local merchant whom I first encountered at the Elks Club bar heard my presentation to Rotary members. Later, we were discussing career choices one evening when I mentioned the narrowing of opportunities in certain areas, an expansion and future promise in others. About two weeks after this exchange, he called my home, asking if I would meet with his son, a senior at the U. of I., who was on the verge of making a major decision concerning career preparation.

The son has opted for a commitment to social science, planning to do research in areas of computer simulation of decision-making. He had deliberated about the possibility of seeking an M.A. in business management; I encouraged him to accept a fellowship at the University of Michigan. The son also indicated his surprise that so many of Effingham's graduates were planning to attend the U. of I.

sociologist writes: "Despite much speculation about their effects, small-scale shared environments, such as particular counties, schools, or neighborhoods, have little effect on the people within them."[11] But in recent years, Eastern, in company with virtually all institutions of higher education, has responded to pressures for changes in its programs and student body. Its status as a "Normal School,' originally created as a single purpose agency for preparing teachers, has changed. Student teachers praised Eastern's fine arts program, for example, and a senior from Ohio described the interrelationships between programs, a more diversified student body, and the lingering effects of regional influence.

> I was impressed by Eastern's art teachers and the instructional set-up when I first went there to look it over. I still am. But the range of students is narrow, as it is here (in Effingham High School). It shows in the selection of art topics, the emphasis on landscapes, chapels, cathedrals. The attitude is like a covering over (this) whole town. Much of the movement in art is toward the abstract, although you don't see it with these kids nor do you see much of it at Eastern.

An increasing number of Black students at Eastern may eventually affect the institutional climate; the presence of Lakeland Junior College is likely to force its senior rival to develop more advanced offerings for juniors and seniors; and the sense of political awareness displayed by incoming freshmen indicates that parents can no longer view any institution as a "safe" place for their sons and daughters to escape the social problems of our era. The possibilities of

[11]Archibald O. Haller, Rural Education and the Educational and Occupational Attainments of Youth, Educational Resources Information Center, Clearinghouse on Rural Education and Small Schools, New Mexico State University, Las Cruces, New Mexico, 1969, p. 14.

undergoing severe challenges to present value systems will increase as more and more Effingham young people attend post-secondary schools.

The factors cited above are signs of an educational revolution which is occurring outside conventional channels of schooling. Beyond the influence of television on this generation of Effingham youth, the founding of Lakeland and the changes at Eastern are also more conventional versions of new approaches such as Head Start, street academies, Vista, Free Schools, etc. Not all of these are present in Effingham, of course, but their influence is felt. Paradoxically, at the moment in time when local educational structures threaten to break under the combined pressures generated by external and internal elements, a singular characteristic of the community presents an opportunity to use education as a unifying and self-renewing source.

Across Town

St. Anthony High School is situated on the northeast edge of the city, one block from its elementary partner. St. Anthony of Padua Church, the convent, and the rectory are adjacent to the grade school. On the far west side of town is the relatively new Sacred Heart Church. Across the road from it is Effingham High School and District 40's central offices.[12] South of the center of town are Central School and Sacred Heart Elementary School. This dispersal of parochial and public

[12]Widening of the state highway (No. 32-33) separating church and school property may result in construction of an overpass linking the two sites. District 40 rents land owned by Sacred Heart Parish for use in athletics and physical education. If a long-term lease can be obtained, the District will help with costs of construction. (Effingham Daily News, March 23, 1971, p. 1.)

schools (see the following page) is suggestive of the community's past, and, given the course of current events, could serve as an important omen for predicting its future.

In June of 1971 the Illinois General Assembly approved a package of three bills providing public aid for parochial and non-public schools. Governor Ogilvie's sponsorship combined with a number of other factors, including the report of a two-year study commission and the influence of Mayor Daley of Chicago,[13] to assure passage of the legislation.[14] Immediate court action is certain because the Illinois Education Association, the American Civil Liberties Union, and a group known as PEARL have already set aside funds for that purpose. The package encountered surprisingly little resistance inside the Legislature despite charges that approval of Parochaid meant "the beginning of the end" for public school systems.[15] Opposition from other organizations and their spokesmen was strong. In addition to angry cries from the IEA and its various local affiliates, plus the American Federation of Teachers, some laymen and legislators saw the action as a political

[13]These transactions took place prior to the Supreme Court decision on parochial aid programs in Pennsylvania and Rhode Island.

[14]In his address to the Spring Meeting of the Wabash Valley School Boards Association, of which District 40 is a member, the IASB official predicted that this legislation could not be approved without Mayor Daley's release of Chicago support. There was little discussion of the secretary's remarks, even though they clearly indicated to rural inhabitants that a major decision holding potentially enormous significance for <u>their</u> schools, communities, and children's future rested in the hands of the nation's most powerful mayor, a man whose person and name are anathema to many downstate Republicans and Democrats.

[15]As quoted in the <u>Illinois State Register</u>, June 22, 1971, p. 1.

Routes #32-33

Fifth Street

K Center

Fourth Street

Rectory

Church

Third Street

St. Anthony High School

St. Anthony Grade School

Convent

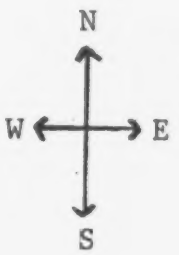
Route #40
(Fayette St.)

Central School

Sacred Heart Church and Property

Effingham High School

Sacred Heart School



issue in 1972 elections. A Decatur lawyer serving as president of that city's school board lashed out at the governor, citing the allged unconstitutionality of the bill.[16] A downstate Democrat representative, speaking as a Catholic layman, saw definite political implications for his district. "If there were a statewide referendum on this question it would be defeated," he said.[17] His words should not be taken lightly because voters in Michigan went to the polls in November, 1970, and used a special referendum to repeal similar legislation that had been approved by its legislature, and which also had survived a court hearing.

Recent acts by the Supreme Court cast a shadow over proceedings in Illinois, and some editorial writers in the state had urged that final consideration of Parochaid be postponed until the higher court acted. In the light of later events, the Court's ruling on Connecticut's version of public assistance to private and parochial schools may have misguided both opponents and supporters of parochial aid. In any case, Effingham is an ideal place for examining the implications of state support for future developments in public-private education.

The legislation recently approved in Illinois has three parts. Its key feature calls for $20.5 million to provide grants of $48-60

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[16]As reported in a WCIA-TV newscast, Champaign, June 22, 1971.

[17]Illinois State Register, Op. Cit., p. 1. And the state auditor reports he will not issue any state funds to non-public schools until he receives clearance from the courts. It should be noted that this official is regarded as a strong contender for a higher state position in 1972. Earlier in 1971, when he was speaking to a meeting of Catholic laymen in Effingham, he voiced staunch support for parochial aid.

a child in elementary schools and $60-90 per child in secondary schools as partial payments for the teaching of secular subjects only. A second measure allocates $4.5 million for grants to low income families whose children are attending non-public schools. A third bill provides $5 million for assisting public and non-public schools in jointly developing innovative programs.[18]

Supporters of the legislation contend that financial setbacks encountered by non-public schools, especially the closing of Catholic institutions, have caused a $105.5 million added burden on state aid to public schools in the last four years.[19] Effingham residents are acutely aware of the portents of this change because of the large number of local children enrolled in parochial schools. Normally strong adherents to policies sponsored by the educational establishment, the District 40 board and administration refused to support stands opposing parochial aid. "All those studies indicating that the average class size would be increased by only one or two students if Catholic schools close didn't have Effingham in mind," was a board member's rejoinder.

While "Letters to the Editor" in the Daily News have reflected strong disagreement over the advisability of parochial aid, the possibility of such assistance is welcomed by school officials in Effingham. Monsignor McGrath of the St. Anthony Parish was active in promoting its

[18]Following decisions rendered by the Supreme Court, the Illinois legislation was rewritten, receiving approval in the Fall session of 1971. The bill now calls for aid to be disbursed through local public school districts. However, enactment is pending until court challenges are resolved.

[19]As cited in the Champaign-Urbana Courier, June 23, 1971, p. 11.

passage and debated the issues in a number of cities. District 40 leaders believe an abrupt closing of Catholic schools would be disastrous for the public system. In the fall of 1970 the possibility of closing St. Anthony High School was seriously discussed, but parish members rallied with, in Father McGrath's words, "unbelievable financial support," and it appears to be set for a long tenure. A crucial test of community relations and school issues, regardless of the fate of parochial aid legislation, is forthcoming. District 40 sorely needs a new junior high or some version of the middle school. Building additions in 1970-71 were sufficiently minor to be financed by available funds. A major program would call for a tax referendum.

District 40 provides bus transportation for Catholic students in addition to encouraging dual-enrollment programs. A base has been established and, in the opinion of this observer, it furnishes infinite possibilities for using educational programs as an avenue for unifying outwardly disparate elements of a community, thereby strengthening its social, political, and economic bonds. A St. Anthony senior girl cited one change already taking place: "Dating patterns have changed a lot in the last two years. Before that, there was little social exchange between us. Student councils in both schools now co-sponsor dances."

In 1970-71, St. Anthony students were enrolled in the Rhetoric IV class, industrial arts, and physics. Beginning next September all home economics classes will be held at the public high school. Future plans call for joint endeavors in the fine and performing arts. Overall, the dual combination of students and facilities, given the ties it has

to proposed changes in church-state-school relationships, holds the promise of becoming a genuine alternative to the present structure.

> The findings tell us that programs designed to improve education in major shared environments (regions, ethnic groups, rural vs. urban areas) may have a possibility of working. The findings also tell us that isolated efforts to improve education by improving resources in limited areas--a school or a grade--will not have much long-run effects, possibly because without widespread acceptance within the cultural group the resources would be indifferently or incompetently applied.[20]

The Two Cultures

One of the landmark essays of the post World War II period is C. P. Snow's The Two Cultures and the Scientific Revolution. Scholarly debate has concentrated on the author's thesis that a serious, potentially crippling, gap exists between science and humanities.[21] Snow and his critics focus on issues which appear to be appropriate guides for analyzing both the prospects and the problems of using education--in this case the Rhetoric IV class viewed as an illustration--as a tool of social and economic change.

Snow writes:

> I believe the pole of total incomprehension of science radiates its influence on all the rest. That total incomprehension gives much more pervasively than we realize, living in it, an unscientific flavour to the whole 'traditional' culture, and that unscientific flavour is often, much more than we admit, on the point of turning anti-scientific.
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> . . .
>
> There seems to be no place where the cultures meet.... But at the heart of thought and creation we are letting some of our best chances

[20]Haller, Op. Cit., pp. 14-15.

[21]C. P. Snow, The Two Cultures and the Scientific Revolution, The Rede Lecture, 1959 (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1960).

> go by default. The clashing point of two subjects, two disciplines, two cultures--of two galaxies, so far as that goes--ought to produce creative chances.[22]

Two critics of Snow's work rebutted certain of his assumptions. Their criticism could serve as parameters for describing the goals and processes of Duane Neet's Rhetoric IV class.

> For the non-scientist, an understanding of science rests not on the acquisition of scientific knowledge, <u>but on scientific habit of thought and method</u>.[23] (italics added)

Rhetoric IV students wrote on their final evaluations such comments as:

> (I) enjoyed some of the work in symbolic logic. I understand the truth tables and their relevance to certain situations.... I see no way in which reference formulas are applicable to real situations. I believe, however, that I am able to think and write more logically because of our work with symbolic logic.
>
> . . .
>
> (I) don't feel there should have been as much time spent on critical analysis. We learn critical analysis better by grading rather than having discussion on it.
>
> . . .
>
> (I) have enjoyed working with symbolic logic the most.... I have to realize that... the purpose of going through symbolic logic (was) to apply our knowledge.
>
> . . .
>
> (I) do not think one can write abstractly after learning about symbolic logic. Also, our study in logic helps us to evaluate arguments.
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> . . .

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[22] <u>Ibid</u>., pp. 10 and 16.

[23] Michael Yudkin, "Sir Charles Snow's Rede Lecture," in F. R. Leavis, <u>The Significance of C. P. Snow</u>: and an Essay (N.Y.: Pantheon Books, 1963), p. 55.

(I) enjoyed our study of symbolic logic most. It seemed to be a combination of many ideas from mathematics and English which was interesting and new to me. (Written by the class valedictorian, who plans to combine engineering and law at the University of Illinois. He continues:) I think... that our study of symbolic logic will help on a subconscious level. When I write a paragraph which is illogical, something just seems wrong.

. . .

(His emphasis on the link between math and English was shared by the St. Anthony valedictorian, for she wrote:) My love of math shows itself when I say I liked to work on the logic problems.

. . .

(The class salutatorian at St. Anthony also concurred with her public school associates by writing:) I can write logically a little better, but not as much as I thought I would. Maybe, though, I can write logically better than I think. Maybe I am writing better logically without my realizing it.

Student comments, then, underscore further criticisms of Snow's thesis.[24]

> It is unfortunate that Sir Charles should stress, as desirable for the non-scientist, the acquisition of scientific knowledge. What would be of value is an understanding of the process and management of scientific thinking; for it is the nature of scientific judgment, the habit of a peculiar form of critical thought, which is characteristic of the scientific culture, which makes scientific work a worthwhile intellectual activity and, incidentally, which would give science some value as a disciplined study for the non-scientist.[25]

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[24]A recent treatment of problems and prospects discussed by Snow is prepared by literary critic George Steiner. The latter writes of two languages "outside the word": music (especially rock) and mathematics. The preponderance of talented scholars in the sciences is likely to bring, Steiner continues, "... wholly unprecedented demands on information absorption and rational application." He concludes by suggesting that if a division of two cultures exists, it rests in different time orientations--i.e., scientists regard the curve of time as positive; "inevitably, the humanist looks back." ("A Future Literacy," Atlantic, V. 228, No. 1 (July, 1971), pp. 42 and 48.)

[25]Yudkin, Op. Cit., p. 56.

Students enter the Rhetoric IV class with high expectations.[26] They learn from their predecessors that the class is demanding, different, and, at times, perplexing. They are also told, by parents and by previous students, that membership in Rhetoric IV is good preparation for college demands. In the vast majority of cases the class meets expectations. It <u>is</u> tough. It <u>is</u> challenging. It <u>does</u> prepare one for university demands in English. Manpower development studies confirm that a highly structured setting--in which participant expectations are met, and where there is a close tie between preparation (training) and the job (college)--represents a productive learning experience for many individuals.[27]

Emphasis on logic, truth tables, analytical writing, and peer evaluation of fellow students distinguishes the intellectual climate of Rhetoric IV. A girl from St. Anthony remarked: "This is the only class I have that is interesting." And end-of-the-year feedback from her classmates reinforced her judgment. Visiting teachers were especially

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[26]Formal interviews with these young people included the four questions cited on page 5 plus three additional items. They were:

A. What extra-curricular activities hold your interest? Why?

B. Are you engaged in activities away from school--during the school year and including the summer--that you see as providing opportunities for learning? Why?

C. Where do you want to be five years from now? Why?

And then I concluded by asking: "Is there anything you want to ask of me?"

[27]See, for example, James A. Belasco and Harrison M. Trice, <u>The Assessment of Change in Training and Therapy</u> (N.Y.: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1969), pp. 145-152.

impressed with the use of student evaluation. University professors working as consultants judged the writing of Rhetoric IV members to be of unusual quality. Questionnaires returned by former students told of how much benefit they were still receiving from participation in this class. The general trend of assignments interacted with an "inquiry" instructional style of the teacher to lend credence to a hypothesis offered by John B. Carroll of Harvard University. He expresses concern over the lack of congruency between student ability, curriculum structure, and time allotments for learning.

> All (these) things require more time than is needed for original learning. Just how much time is needed is an empirical question, but it needs to be faced. I entertain the hypothesis that the American school curriculum, in contrast to the typical European curriculum, makes very little provision for the kinds of reviews that are needed to yield long-term retention. It is my belief that many of the alleged deficiencies of American education are not deficiences in original learning and teaching as much as they are deficiencies in knowledge and skill retention caused by improper provision for periodic and meaningful reviews. In his analysis of the deficiencies of teaching in English composition, for example, Alfred Kitzhaber (1963) showed that there is not so much wrong with the teaching of English grammar and usage <u>as with the methods used to keep the student's knowledge at a sufficiently high functional level throughout the years of secondary school and college</u>. Students simply forget what they have been taught and are allowed to 'get away with it.'[28] (italics added)

Duane Neet's students are not allowed to "get away with it." His demands are clear and rigorous; some observers more process oriented--i.e., with respect to student freedom and non-directive teaching--see the class as functioning under too much teacher control.[29] Members of

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[28]John B. Carroll, "School Learning over the Long Haul," <u>Learning and the Educational Process</u>, ed. by J. D. Krumboltz (Chicago: Rand McNally Co., 1965), pp. 263-264.

[29]Other professional judgments concerning the processes and products of Rhetoric IV can be found in "The Effingham Experiment," Bertrand F. Richards, <u>Teachers College Journal</u>, March, 1967 (reprints).

the 1970-71 group did not concur with these observations. It is interesting to note, too, that Duane Neet shares Carroll's concern about time. "Is too much time devoted to the term paper?" he inquired of students and me. Duane obviously begrudged his time spent away from class, a more frequent occurrence now that he is also curriculum director. And the issue of time was omnipresent because the Catholic students were always late.

Freedom Is Choice

Lord Snow's statement that the point of interface between two elements "ought to produce creative chances" carries special significance for dual enrollment classes. Based on my observations in Effingham the potential of such interaction has scarcely been touched. Part of the problem may be inherent in the attitudes and philosophy governing development of such activities. The main obstacles are subsumed within comments made by one of the legislative spokesmen supporting parochial aid. "This is a great victory," remarked Representative Schlickman, "not only for the non-public schools but for the public schools. It will help the public schools by seeing that school children are not dumped into the public system by closing parochial schools."[30]

A survey of comments, pro and con, regarding the advisability of granting aid to non-public schools reveals that economic factors consistently receive priority. The possibility that schools could serve

[30]As quoted in the Illinois State Journal, June 23, 1971, p. 1.

as means for charting new directions in their communities and in the adult society is rarely discussed. There are Catholics in Effingham who oppose public aid to parochial schools on grounds that their continued existence is a divisive force in the town and threatens to become even more so in the future. Likewise, numerous Protestants, including some educators, sincerely believe the community would be stronger if only one school system were present. And both groups express particular concern about the presence of two high schools in a small town.[31] Yet Catholic schools are sources of potential alternatives to current forms of education. The task would not be easy, for this approach would require adults to look beyond their reasons for maintaining dual school systems and to examine what education could mean for a community's children and youth. To a very large extent, the dilemma is intrinsic to fundamental problems of talent development --namely, the idea that freedom in an urban society is choice among options. Thus far we have been remiss in granting little choice and in providing few options.[32] Meeting these demands will require a redefinition of school and community relationships. The job would be a formidable one in any setting.[33] The fact that religious issues

[31]St. Anthony students enrolled in Rhetoric IV were not optimistic about the future of their alma mater. Themes dealing with the topic "Effingham, 1984" visualized the school's demise.

[32]A spokesman for the North Central Association severely indicted secondary schools on essentially the same grounds in his presentation at the June 29, 1971, OSPI hearings.

[33]Various difficulties are discussed in "How Schools Can Be Used Nights, Week-Ends," National Observer, July 26, 1971, p. 9. The writer quotes a prominent figure in the community school movement as stating: "Every major experiment has failed because it didn't have the leadership. We're trying to provide that now, and we think we can do it nationwide."

are bound up with educational matters in Effingham adds to the complexity, but this same richness lends significance to the grand opportunity outlined in Snow's writings.

In the Beginning

One of seven avowed objectives in Effingham's kindergarten program is described as "Giving Students Opportunities for Making Decisions." The K Center is an unusual setting. Formerly a United States Post Office, it was acquired from the General Services Administration (following a clash with city officials who also wanted it) and converted into a school for early learning based on a combination of formalized classromm instruction and utilization of an open space area and teacher aides for enrichment and activity purposes. The Center, with its happy blending of space, competent teachers, supportive leadership from the building principal, and enthusiastic aides, shows promise of literally equipping children with tools needed for making wise choices in a complex society. Furthermore, it became a field site for an Education Professions Development Act (EPDA) project in "Open Education" in September of 1971.

Almost all Effingham preschoolers, both Catholics and non-Catholics, begin school at the kindergarten center. A large number, roughly forty per cent, then transfers to either Sacred Heart or St. Anthony elementary schools. Those remaining will enter one of four public grade schools: East Side, West Side, South Side, and Funkhouser, the latter a tiny rural site. As the history of abortive change efforts clearly reveals, programs begun in the early years generate demands

for revisions up the line. Heated debates over Head Start's alleged "success" or "failure" are one illustration of the ensuing controversy.

> However impressive the immediate results of preschool compensatory instruction may be, and however much encouragement may be drawn from follow-up achievement data, the fact remains that no preschool program shows any promise of making, by itself, any permanent difference in the scholastic success of poor children.... The data on long-term effects of preschool intervention are disillusioning but not, to me at least, discouraging.... The illusion that they serve to dispel is that there is some magic in the early years of intellectual development such that a little difference there will make a lot of difference later.... What will prove useful later is not determined by some innate chain of development but by the actual course of real-life events. The corollary that I have argued in this section is that one way to make preschool learning more useful is to alter the actual course of subsequent school events so as to make use of it.[34]

District 40 is making plans to tie future inservice training to needs suggested by developments at the kindergarten level; however, this action does not deal with problems created for parochial schools and it leaves unresolved what is perhaps a more ominous issue--namely, the provisions made for educating children in the Watson-Mason-Edgewood sectors.

Equalizing Opportunity

Demands for equalizing educational opportunity received great publicity in the past decade, primarily because of their direct tie to the civil rights movement and the rising militancy of black people. More recently, Chicanos and spokesmen for "middle Americans"[35] have

[34]Carl Bereiter, "Bereiter Punctures Preschool Illusions," The Alaflaga Word, March, 1971, Alabama-Florida-Georgia Early Education Institute Newsletter, p. 2.

[35]See, for example, Herrick S. Roth's "The Family Caught in the Middle," Compact, V. 3, No. 6 (December, 1969), pp. 42-44.

taken up the same cause. As we enter the 'seventies two principles stand out: (1) the overwhelming importance of education and training in an urban, technological society; (2) the growing realization that equality of educational opportunity cuts across racial and ethnic lines and is bound to social, political, and economic factors.[36] The rural schools of District 40 are a case in point.

Illinois has long remained a bastion of dual school districts--i.e., high schools may exist legally, politically, and economically separate from sending grade schools. While the years since 1945 have seen a gradual increase in the number of unit districts, numerous dual arrangements persist. Their critics see them as lacking program articulation and, in general, as detrimental forms. Present funding policies of state aid favor, at least on a short-term basis, the formation of unit districts, and proponents of dual districts are agitating for true equalization of funding.[37] But equalization of opportunity for students requires more than mere revision in funding procedures, difficult as their attainment may be. It will necessitate fundamental changes in adult attitudes and behavior.

I have worked in two areas where students from rural grade schools were entering high school considerably lower on achievement scores than

[36]Personally, I like very much Max Lerner's expression that the key word for capturing the essence of American civilization is "access" --defined by Lerner as "keeping open the opportunities for equal chances." ("The University in an Age of Revolutions," Oakland Papers: Symposium on Social Change and Educational Continuity, ed. by J. B. Whipple and G. A. Woditsche (Boston: Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, 1966), pp. 26-27.)

[37]They lost their battle in the General Assembly, primarily because equalization would have required approximately ten million dollars from a state budget already the subject of countless demands.

their town counterparts--Sterling, Illinois and Effingham. Sterling was--and remains--a dual district despite an attempt to form a unit in 1969-70. Effingham has been a unit district for several years. In both cases, though, parental attitudes blend with unequal facilities to markedly reduce opportunity.

In Sterling, five of the six outlying districts desperately wanted to retain their local basketball teams. In District 40, rural adults cling to the idea that "neighborhood" schools are inherently better. In both instances, the feelings were and are understandable. Consolidation and merger of schools has traditionally been one of the most trying and emotionally ridden political acts in rural America.[38] Two major waves of consolidation have occurred. The first action took place in the midst of the Great Depression of the 1930s. Another series of changes began in the late 1940s. Fiscal pressures and needed reforms in secondary education seem certain to call forth a major effort in the 1970s.

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[38]For a vivid account of regional development in which consolidation and mergers of rural schools played an important part, see Richard W. Poston, "Community Education in Southern Illinois." Poston describes activities in Pope County, approximately seventy miles southeast of Effingham.

> The education committee of the Pope County Development Programs was one of the first to swing into action. It faced the facts and came up with a conclusion that was sound.... It was not an idea that could be sold easily. Every tiny village zealously guarded its autonomy in school affairs. Each eyed with distrust a measure that would candidly hail the over-all superiority of Golconda.... Besides the county superintendent of schools was already located in Golconda. (Community Education: Principles and Practices from World-Wide Experience, 58th Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part I; ed. by Nelson B. Henry (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1959), pp. 268-282.)

Despite yearly evidence that students from Mason and Edgewood, where a K-8 system is present, not only test out below Effingham city pupils as they enter 9th grade but also score less well than Watson and Funkhouser students who transfer to Central School in the 6th grade, little is done to alleviate the condition. High school counselors and teachers testify to marked discrepancies in attitudes toward education; test scores show grave differences in individual and group achievement and also reveal persistent deficiencies in the critical realm of language development. A member of the Rhetoric IV class described the situation in words strikingly similar to those used by the rural kindergarten teacher, who has lived in the region for several years.

> It's those homes. That clannishness! The parents feel tromped upon and powerless. They tell their kids: 'You won't get anywhere at the high school.' They're especially concerned about unfair treatment in athletics, cheerleading, etc., but don't care too much about education--think Cs are okay for grades. They don't expect anymore from their children and the result is that the kids don't care.[39]

> The little children are so honest, so good to work with (as Head Start aide), and gee, did I learn! It gets you away from your picture of life.

The crux of the problem is outlined above. On one hand, many rural inhabitants believe their children are not getting fair treatment from District 40, especially at the high school level. Yet they resent any effort by district officials which suggests that further consolidation

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[39]A young local teacher who went through these same schools basically concurred. She also added a dimension to the educational scene.

> (My husband) went through that sequence, too. And the only reason he got a fair shake in class was because of his athletic ability. His older brothers just sat there; dreamed the days away in high school. Once those high school teachers hear you start using that 'country English,' you're dead.

of outlying schools might be advisable, and, with the exception of a few large-scale farmers, citizens of Mason-Watson-Edgewood receive a disproportionate share of tax dollars for their schools in comparison to payments made and benefits received by town residents. An inefficient system is prolonged, the machinery continues to process youngsters; and it will require joint action by both Catholic and public school officials to correct the situation because adult values are at stake. The task of convincing parents about needed school reform involves more than sheer information about test scores and their relationship to inequalities of opportunity.

Increasing the Options

Dual-enrollment programs have usually operated at the convenience of the public school partner. "Our schedule is locked to Effingham Senior High's," reported Sister Frances Rose, principal of St. Anthony. It's also dependent on other factors, too, such as bus, train and auto traffic, and the general rigidity characterizing almost all secondary school schedules.

St. Anthony students were usually five to ten minutes late for a Rhetoric IV class period of fifty minutes. The instructor's anxiety about time was noted previously. Public school members responded by stopping all conversation, extraneous activities, etc., when parochial students arrived. The latter reacted to this abrupt transition with uncertainty and distrust, interpreting their classmates' behavior as a sign that "Catholic kids" were disturbing things. This issue manifested itself when we employed the Class Activities Questionnaire, an

experimental item designed to analyze classroom atmosphere.[40] Nevertheless, one of the most heartening outcomes of the year was the building of authentic, healthful relations between the two groups enrolled in Rhetoric IV. Time continued to be an annoyance, not only in this class, but in other activities in both St. Anthony High and Effingham High where teachers displayed mixed reactions to late arrivals. Until operating schedules become more flexible, it is apparent that students will have to pay the price for participating in dual-enrollment programs.

Part of the "price" in 1970-71 was an inability to enroll in a fourth-year English class taught by Sister Frances Rose. A native of California, a wide traveler and broadly educated person, Sister's class stressed a humanities approach as contrasted with Duane Neet's emphasis on logical analysis and systematic processing of information.

Rural communities are not noted for their broad perspectives on life, for the presence of minorities. No Blacks, or Chicanos, or Asians live in Effingham; few ethnic representatives of southeastern Europe are present. Consequently, academic courses dealing with the lives and customs of other peoples are badly needed. The senior honors course at St. Anthony acknowledges that need. Since the school's enrollment is so small, only one honors class is offered, however, and it must function at the same time as Rhetoric IV, if dictates of the master schedule are met. This observer felt that the best of all possible worlds of English in Effingham would be a combination of Rhetoric IV and the

[40]Joe M. Steele, Dimensions of the Class Activities Questionnaire, Illinois Gifted Program Evaluation, CIRCE, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, 1969.

literature class taught by Sister Frances Rose. At the moment that opportunity does not exist.

Music represents another avenue for enriching life in Effingham. The high school is known for its excellent concert bands and particularly for its All-Brass Marching Band. All instruction in Central School and grades 9-12 is handled by men with the emphasis resting on performance. Meanwhile, Sister Rose is giving a somewhat different meaning to musical expression in her work at St. Anthony High School. Her radiant personality and joyful, enthusiastic approach to music create a special kind of atmosphere in the chorus room, and students respond in a way that lends credibility to themes printed on the bulletin board. For example, on one occasion cut-out letters of different hues spelled out this message: "Life is All Sunshine - Music - and Color - Dance--Between Growing Pains." The same teacher told her senior students during the last week of school: "I guess you have to pass in everything except what's in your heart."

Whose Problem?

I was also impressed by the actions of resource people involved in St. Anthony's Family Life series. In one particularly meaningful session, a young psychologist attached to the Mental Health Center was working with the topic of personality development. A mild heckler retorted: "Hey, man, you've got to motivate us; if we don't want to learn it's your fault." "No," replied Bill Kirk, "it's not my fault, but it sure is my problem."

How right he was! Most of today's social problems, including those closely identified with education, are not the "fault" of this

generation of youth or its parents, but they all are caught up in the same perplexing condition.[41] Nor can adults be blamed for not responding with clear-cut solutions to sweeping issues engendered by forces of social and economic change. We can be faulted if we permit current conditions to persist.

Some of the opportunities present in Effingham's dual-enrollment program are unique to that region; other communities and regions have different prospects and problems. But certain problems and needs are emerging as crucial issues for all areas of the nation. Foremost among these is the search for talent which can provide credible leadership in an era of rapid change.

[41] The Pennsylvania Report, For the House of Tomorrow, submits that "the youth revolt is not really in opposition to adulthood, but in protest against inequities in our society for which youth believes adults are responsible." (Op. Cit., p. 2.)

Chapter 6

SEARCHING/SEEKING

Social Action and Social Policy

In the concluding section of his Rede Lecture, C. P. Snow warned that marked differences in the ways in which people were being educated boded ill for the future. Although he was speaking to an audience of English scholars, citizens of the United States are today painfully aware of the accuracy of Snow's prediction that "performance in humble jobs" would break down, that it would be difficult to keep the wheels of social amenities going;[1] indeed, we have witnessed the near collapse of social, political, and economic infra-structures in our cities.

Although social ills of our time stem from a multiplicity of causes, attention has been directed of late to the need for leaders who can unify our nation, who can give voice to fears and uncertainties disturbing U. S. citizens and achieve success in committing talent and material resources to solutions of grave problems.[2] On a smaller scale, issues in Effingham, both real and latent, mundane and far-reaching, require civic leadership of the highest order. The community's rapid development in recent years has rested on the ability of local people to harness and utilize momentum derived from outside influences.

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[1] The Two Cultures, Op. Cit., pp. 40-52.

[2] As revealed, for example, in a recent survey of American attitudes entitled Hopes and Fears of the American People and excerpted by the Champaign-Urbana Courier, June 27, 1971, p. 1. A Gallup Poll of university and college campuses found that sixty-one per cent of the total one thousand students participating in the study sponsored by Newsweek believed that "too little" emphasis was given to the need for strong leaders. (Newsweek, February 22, 1971, p. 61.)

The pace and sweep of events are increasing, however, and new problems are not solely those which can be alleviated by direct action. An illustration follows.

> I would like to add a word to the lady taxpayer's.
>
> My husband and I are both hardworking decent people. Each week, a huge proportion of my husband's check is taken out for taxes.
>
> Due to circumstances beyond our control, my husband was out of work for six months. He couldn't find a job anywhere for he is handicapped.
>
> . . .
>
> Therefore, we put our pride aside and we went to our local supervisor for help.... We were not refused help at any time, but I would have preferred not to go. They acted like we were shiftless, lazy bums who had never worked a day in our lives nor paid taxes either. We were made to feel like the lowest form of trash.
>
> If it hadn't been for my hungry children, I would never have asked for help....
>
> Needless to say, I will not forget the treatment I received at that office.[3]

Drastic changes in the economy, particularly with respect to agriculture and small business and industry, are likely to swell the ranks of temporarily unemployed, "God-fearing" people, who represent the backbone of Effingham's older residents. No longer will it be possible to ignore the fact that ADC and public welfare encompass more than cities and their minority groups. Nor will the best of leadership nor the wisest of consultant agencies necessarily resolve the issue.

Social scientists are essentially analysts. In company with their contemporaries in physical science, they seek to isolate cause and effect

[3]"Letters to the Editor," Effingham Daily News, October 28, 1970, p. 10.

relationships. Effective social policy is based on synthesis or the art of creating workable programs out of apparently discordant and fragmentary approaches: "A policy is an attempt to cope with the future, not simply to account for the past. To be concerned with policy is to focus on the attempt to produce intended results."[4] Robert Dahl's definition is a pertinent one for Effingham, because its leaders have skillfully seized opportunities for capitalizing on highway construction, luring new industry, planning malls, financing sewer systems, and arranging for other accoutrements of growth. But it is another--and remarkably different--task to launch bold solutions to social problems. Such programs, submit researchers evaluating the War on Poverty, ". . . are concerned first with the impact of the program on a <u>situation</u>, and only secondarily with the impact of the program on <u>individuals</u>. They (the programs) are likely to take very different forms in different situations."[5] (italics added)

In small towns it is often difficult to look beyond individuals, and Effingham is no exception. In fact, given its combination of German family ties and a neo-Populist stress on the "rights" of small farmers, businessmen, etc., the community may well represent an extreme example of resistance to social engineering.[6]

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[4]Robert Dahl, "Cause and Effect in the Study of Politics," <u>Cause and Effect., Op. Cit.</u>, p. 88.

[5]Robert S. Weiss and Martin Rein, "The Evaluation of Broad-Aim Programs: A Cautionary Case and a Moral," <u>The Annals</u>, V. 385 (September, 1969), p. 134.

[6]For example, if economic growth ceases to be a prime goal--that is, in comparison with leisure time, quality of life and related environmental issues, will new types of leaders and new forms of programs appear? Will demands for more effective delivery of professional services challenge current institutional arrangements in education, medicine, and health? And how would these changes redistribute the talent in a city or region? Of course, these are seminal questions for all areas of the country but they are starkly

(footnote continued on next page)

There were some indications in Effingham that both young and old grasp the issues involved in modern conceptions of leadership and social reform. In addition, and this trend may be of utmost importance, there were signs that young adults, roughly thirty years of age and below, are seeking different rewards. This tendency would place them in accord with results pollsters are reporting from recent surveys.

> People are less interested than they were in 1959 and 1964 in a standard of living, fulfillment of aspirations for children, owning a home and assurances of a happy old age. They are more interested in subjects demanding social action rather than individual solutions.[7]

While the statements above are suggestive of a society that has "made it," and now wishes to move on to other goals, ignoring the hopes and aspirations of less fortunate groups, they also reflect at least two major barriers standing in the path of effective social action in Effingham and in the nation. One factor, already cited, is the need for social reform movements to deal with numerous interrelated elements, not all of which are readily identifiable via analytical techniques.[8]

(footnote 6 continued)
portrayed in the Effingham picture. As a leading economist writes: "The advantage of economic growth is not that wealth increases happiness, but that it increases the range of human choice." (Arthur Lewis, "Is Economic Growth Desirable?" in Studies in Economic Development, ed. by Bernard Okun and Richard W. Richardson (N.Y.: Rinehart and Winston, 1962), p. 478.

[7]Hopes and Fears. . ., Op. Cit., p. 1.

[8]A specific illustration of the building resentment again analytical treatment of social problems is embodied in psychiatrist Robert Coles's newest book. A reviewer notes:

> Cole's parting shot wins a point, however. He condemns the tendency of politicians and social scientists to categorize segments of society, a practice that lays the groundwork for demagogues. (Robert Coles, The Middle Americans (N.Y.: Atlantic-Little, Brown, 1970); as reviewed by Anthony Cooper in Newsweek, June 28, 1971, p. 86.)

The second obstacle is the nature of the reward system in Western societies. It is foolish, decries a noted economist and business executive, "to ignore the overwhelming evidence that talent and commitment go where the rewards are."[9]

Competence

Definitions

Most of the respondents in Effingham saw talent as an ability to do something better than others. A common expression suggested that it meant the person was competent--i.e., able to do something well. There were limited indications that older residents regard talent as innate, a "God-given ability," although several high school students gave similar replies. There was general consensus that talent manifests itself in performance, even though "some talented people never show it." Members of Rhetoric IV offered a number of intriguing observations on the question of "What is talent?"

A St. Anthony student noted that he once thought you acquired talent. He started piano lessons at age six, continued until he was twelve. "But I didn't have it. I said to myself: 'To hell with it!' Somehow, you have to have some 'natural' ability." One of his District 40 classmates also felt that talent was innate. "You don't get more, you develop what you have." She was supported by one of the two football players in the class who remarked that an individual not only had to

[9]Anthony Downs, "The Future of American Ghettos," Urban Processes: As Viewed by Social Sciences (Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute 1970), pp. 32-33.

work hard at developing talent, using math and music as illustrations, but that more opportunities were needed for "kids to excell in something."[10] In turn, his words were echoed by a rather silent member who is already assuming much responsibility on his father's dairy farm. "Talent means," he responded, "that we must give people a chance to express or use the skills they have. It should be used for the betterment of man," he declared, "for it could go in the opposite direction."

The production of competent individuals carries staggering implications for schools and the communities they serve. For schools are not only arenas wherein certain kinds of talent are spotlighted, they also are charged with educating young people whose talents may not be revealed until a later date.

"Talent?" responded a co-captain of Effingham High School's undefeated football team. "Well, that's Mike Tegeler catching a pass. Wait until you see him. What hands!" Athletics has represented one of the few places in education where the importance of <u>active</u> performance is acknowledged, applauded, and consistently encouraged. No criticism of the alleged over-emphasis on varsity sports and marching bands in high schools can ignore the scarcity of avenues in which the mass of students can show their ability to <u>do</u> something. Athletics and band stand out for numerous reasons, but other performance areas such as art, drama, vocal music, and industrial arts lack the community-wide

[10]This same individual, when asked at the close of the formal interview if he had any questions of me, countered: "Yes, what do you think of Viet Nam?"

advocacy supporting the longstanding pre-eminence of athletics and band. Effingham schools mirror the condition described above, and the problems it poses for curriculum change and human development are outlined in the following passage.

> There is a particular need to give direct experience of performance to people who spend most of their formative years in learning. For in school there is no performance; there is only promise. We will have to build into the process of formal education direct performing experience in the arts as well as in technology. . . . We must not allow ourselves to let that eighty per cent of man that is not verbal intelligence but capacity to do, capacity to create, capacity to sense wither away out of sheer intellectual arrogance.[11]

Performance

Peter Drucker's charge infers that performance has significance beyond the academic setting. In Effingham, the cry for effective leadership moved across age ranks and social class strata, but was most characteristic of students and women. Enlarging the base of opportunities for leadership is a need confronting many locales and their school systems. In the face of Barker's conclusion that small schools provided more avenues for participation in activities, that "small school students lived under greater day-by-day attraction, obligation, and external pressure to take active part in the various behavior settings of their schools,"[12] the question of how viable those settings are for the development of needed social talents in an urban society remains open. The high school principal in District 40, an outstanding athlete in his high school and university years, explains the situation in Effingham.

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[11]Peter Drucker, "The University in an Educated Society," Oakland Papers, Op. Cit., p. 11.

[12]Big School, Small School, . . . , Op. Cit., p. 197.

> Kids in one of our social studies classes asked: 'Would you register colored kids?' As you know, none has ever lived here. That question is typical of the type of leadership I see in this younger generation. (He is thirty.)
>
> We need to give more opportunities for active leadership. They have been limited to date, especially in the 'political' area--and students are really starting to get wrapped up in it. The eighteen-year-old vote may make kids more conservative--that is, more responsible. I've seen it happen when they're placed in situations with real responsibility, where a decision potentially affects the safety of individuals, for example. They may have to make some bad mistakes in the process, and that's a loaded issue right now.
>
> Student council, I know, has disappointed some of the kids, and some are upset with me. I would agree that we need a wider range of viewpoints expressed in their sessions.

I asked the principal: "Is it fair to say that you're allowing them (the students) to make some real decisions on management, policy, curriculum?" "No," he replied. "It sounds good in theory, and I would like to say, 'You're right,' but our faculty and board are not ready for such action."[13]

The succeeding chapter casts additional doubt on the ability of secondary schools as they now function to produce people "with the ability to get along with other races, to help us understand each other," a need cited by the overwhelming majority of student respondents.

Leadership has been historically identified with a willingness to accept responsibility. Increasing the available opportunities for learning and displaying responsible behavior, as an Effingham administrator

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[13]In a speech delivered at the Annual Administrators Round-Up sponsored by Illinois State University, December, 1970, Mark Shedd, Superintendent of Schools in Philadelphia, spoke of a student Bill of Rights developed by a student-faculty-administrative committee and formally adopted by the board. Those most opposed to its implementation, Shedd noted, were teachers. Part of this reaction he attributed to an uneasiness about protecting their newly won gains following years of struggle.

noted, is directly related to the philosophy of a school. This perspective also requires that concern for human development move out from educational settings and into the community and nation at large. A crucial issue at the moment focuses on the general attitude toward secondary and post-secondary education.

Problems regarding early and late adolescence are so visible and publicized--e.g., drug use and abuse, the ready availability of cars, changes in patterns of sexual relations, competition for higher education, for jobs, etc.--that little concern is evidenced about elementary and preschool education. True, various researchers and scholars abetted by the federal government have launched several efforts in early childhood education. And the urgency of attempts to reduce the educational skills gap between white, middle-class children and their less privileged counterparts in Appalachia, urban ghettos, and Indian reservations has received belated attention in recent years. Still lingering, though, is the issue of achievement in esthetic and affective domains of life and the relationship of cumulative emotional deficiencies to adult behavior. Learning how to assume responsibility, to bring people together, to value compromise, cooperation, and selflessness in an individualistic, achievement-oriented society is difficult. Schools alone cannot accomplish this awesome task.[14]

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[14]The complexities of this problem can be depicted in numerous ways. For example, school administrators testifying at the OSPI hearings on June 29, 1971, expressed a willingness to reduce kindergarten and preschool programs in favor of maintaining secondary schools at their current funding levels. A specialist in rural economic development, interviewed for CIRCE's work with the Planning Unit of the National Institute of Education, had several thoughts along this line.

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There is one setting in the Effingham community which beautifully illustrates the possibilities for developing social skills and maximizing the benefits obtainable from improved school-community cooperation. Some of the most able students in St. Anthony and Effingham High work as waitresses and bus boys in local motels. Because of the confluence of I-57 and I-70, these jobs are both lucrative and educational. Girls and boys living in a rural-oriented, all-white, small community are brought into a host of contacts with a diversified array of travelers, including black citizens. In other words, being a waitress in Effingham's major motels is a far more meaningful task than that typified by similar jobs in other settings. And the girls, especially, learn new lessons in dramatic fashion.

While eating at the Ramada one night, I noticed the nervous mannerisms displayed by Nancy, a junior college student home for the summer.

(footnote 14 continued)

Few rural citizens are alarmed about the quality of schools or inequities for the deprived, he asserted. They will come to community meetings on tax problems, consolidation, crop and livestock protection, and even community economic redevelopment, he continued, and there is a willingness to tackle tough educational issues at meetings called for other purposes.

Aggressive members of such communities get their intellectual stimulation from outside the community, the sociologist declared, and permit the schools to be custodians of ritual, mores, communication skills and basic facts--that is, in a historical and academic sense, not a social sense.

In preceding pages I made the observation that Effingham faces problems more in accord with urban situations than rural dilemmas. However, there is no question about the prevalence of conservative attitudes regarding the "proper" role of schools, particularly in the outlying areas of School District 40. Perhaps the salient factor in both rural and urban sites is the need to begin where the people are. This adage is an old one, but age has not dimmed its usefulness. People wish to deal with issues they see as important to them.

I asked her if waiting on black people always had such an effect--namely, rapid talking, "hovering," uncertain movements, etc. "Did I show that much?" she asked. "I though I had long ago gotten over my fears," she continued, "for they (black customers) have been so nice. I guess you don't overcome your background overnight."

Members of Rhetoric IV also were employed in local motels. One of them stated:

> Working for the first time away from the house was tough on me, but I was sick, shaking with fear, the first time I tried to serve colored people. You can't believe it. I can't, not now. But I honestly didn't think I could do it; and besides, the demands of working in a busy restaurant were so overwhelming at first that I felt I couldn't continue. I stuck it out, though.

"Sticking it out," staying on the job, is a respected sign of conscientious personal and working habits--in Effingham and in most of the country. And a willingness to work is viewed as responsible conduct. When I asked the motel owner why he had promoted the girl quoted above to part-time hostess, he responded: "She's quick. She works hard. She's responsible. She's smart, and smart kids are versatile."

A Living Model

Julie, the student cited above, was one of the original set of interviewees involved in the July-August, 1970, survey. After completing the first session with her I had written in the margin: "bright, articulate, open, good self-insight." During the course of our first interview it was obvious that Julie was extremely active in extra-curricular activities. I asked: "Did it ever occur to you that when you're in so many, others have fewer chances?" "Yes," she acknowledged, "but I feel the same way many of the kids do, that too many of our

clubs don't do anything. There's no reason to stay in them once you've joined." Later, she confessed: "You know, I like to talk." I agreed with this observation, adding: "You have to be a great listener to be a truly effective talker." "Hey!" Julie exclaimed, "that's what my dad says!"

Julie displayed the characteristics noted above numerous times in the Rhetoric IV class. A streak of competitiveness was also evident, particularly when she was in the presence of Mary, a St. Anthony participant, who spoke of her trouble early in the year when vying with Julie for class leadership. "But we came together," Mary stated, "with the help of other girls in the class." Ironically, Mary and Julie worked in motels which are also major rivals: the Ramada Inn and the Holiday Inn.

In 1970-71, Julie's conduct reflected salient features of strong leadership guided by a sense of social responsibility. Her actions warrant careful scrutiny when viewed against a background of research findings in studies of leadership behavior.

> It is useful to view leadership as a process of adaptation to changing conditions which require the skills to assess situations and to provide appropriate actions based on the prediction of consequences.
>
> This view of leadership as an adaptive process has an important implication. Adaptation to changing conditions requires a realistic approach to life and to people, together with a wide repertoire of behaviors capable of coping with the variety of problems that may be encountered.
>
> A realistic attitude also requires a high degree of acceptance of people as they are. This does not suggest that it is necessary to condone irresponsible actions, sloppy performance, or laziness. It is difficult to respond realistically to concrete situations if a leader cannot distinguish between people as they are and people as they should be.

> The leader who cannot concede, even to himself, that others may have different values, aspirations, and reactions is not likely to predict the consequences of his actions with much accuracy.[15]

Julie demonstrated these attributes frequently. Certainly her sense of humor, the ability to laugh at some of her own foibles, even when it "hurt," enabled her to use humor as part of her repertoire--a "survival kit" for confronting demands at the Holiday Inn. It also supported her efforts in a special setting at school.

Julie tutored slow readers. "It's shameful," she cried, "for these kids to get this far and not be able to read. How can a school let this happen?" A leading scholar in the field of mental health, Eli Bower, is one of many authorities to charge reading disability as the single most important cause of school failure and frustration.[16] "To be competent in the world of tomorrow," Bower continues, "one needs to be able to do three things--to love, to work and to play." The field of mental health is moving away from an emphasis on intra-psychic models, he observes, toward a "social competency" model whose goal is "to learn how to carry on those transactions with (the) environment which assist the individual in gaining individual and social competence."[17]

Julie's rare combination of school and work experiences has provided her with a sound base for further movement along lines suggested

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[15]Joseph A. Olmstead, "The Skills of Leadership," Military Review, V. 47, No. 3 (March, 1967), pp. 66-67.

[16]Eli M. Bower, "The Achievement of Competency," Reprinted from Learning and Mental Health in School, U. S. Dept. of Health, Education, and Welfare, Public Health Service, 1967, p. 41.

[17]Ibid., pp. 23 and 35.

by Bower. On one hand, she possesses the ability to manage with competence her available knowledge, a crucial test for ego strength. Her work with handicapped students is an illustration of Bower's conclusion that love in the realm of education means "an active helping of others to live."[18] Julie has enrolled in special education at the University of Illinois. This choice lends even greater significance to the background of experience and training she will bring with her. The Department of Special Education at this university is swamped with applications very year. Twenty applicants are accepted for study in the Educable Mentally Retarded area; twenty for work in the field of deafness. Candidates are required to complete a comprehensive questionnaire in addition to the usual demands, and their list of experiences is an important criterion for acceptance. Admission is much more of an individualized process than in many other sectors of the U. of I. Julie's total record placed her very high on the list of candidates.

New Arenas

In contrast to the initial claims and promises made on behalf of Head Start and other parts of the War on Poverty, the ESEA legislation of 1965 has made few major reforms in the nation's public schools. Head Start's extension, Project Follow Through, has encountered even tougher opposition.

> Head Start began clean. It filled a gap in public education, the pre-kindergarten years, where nothing was being done for these youngsters. In Follow Through you're inside the public

[18] Ibid., p. 45.

> schools, telling seasoned teachers they've got to change their ways. You're bucking up against an entrenched tradition, an established curriculum. Sparks are bound to fly.[19]

This account was written in 1967. Four years later, we know that Head Start and Follow Through were bucking more than an educational "establishment." They were also operating in ways contrary to the picture countless people hold in their minds of what school should be. In 1971, public education is facing unprecedented calls for "accountability." Ironically, the narrow conceptualization of school which has hindered development of effective school-community liaisons in the past, thereby furnishing educators with an excuse for not exerting stronger civic leadership, now threatens to hold them responsible for outcomes over which they have little control. Accountability carries with it definite overtones of responsibility.[20] Unless the larger community, state, and nation are held responsible for providing needed forms of institutional support, there is real danger that only individuals, most of them involved in the instructional process, will face the consequences of our current emphasis on accountability. This result would surely aggravate some of the most pressing problems now facing public education.

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[19]Mark Arnold, "Why 'Head Start,' Public Success, Sometimes Fails," National Observer, Sept. 10, 1967, p. 1.

[20]See, for example, "Reviews and Prospects," Talent and Society: New Perspectives in the Identification of Talent, David C. McClelland and Others, (N.Y.: D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc., 1958). McClelland urges that we examine carefully the role of being a student in our society, stressing that "The structural requirements of the social situation in which talented performance takes place should be subjected to thorough study." (his italics), pp. 250-51.

It may be too late for schools in many communities to effect a new relationship with townspeople. I believe the opportunity is still there in Effingham. On the opening day of District 40's 1970-71 school year, the superintendent referred to some new federal programs, and then gave his opinion that the next decade might well see schools function as "total care" institutions. He was looking at the custodial aspects of schooling. If public education is to remain a vital force in American life, it is true that we are likely to see schools assume more responsibilities of a custodial bent. A society undergoing domestic turmoil needs all the assistance it can gain. Assumption of enlarged responsibilities, however, without forging new bonds to the community could become self-destructive. On one hand, schools need the help of working adults in order to provide more learning opportunities for students; on the other hand, educators need to reach community residents in new ways so that the latter can understand the meaning of "school" as a social institution in the closing years of this century.

For example, during my years in the public-school arena, I never ceased to marvel at the wide range of perceptions teachers and coaches held of the same boys. Of course each saw him in a different setting. Frequently, I observed him in yet a third--the training room or hospital, when he was injured. The same situation existed in Effingham. Supervisors of students working in places distinct from the classroom saw their charges in a different light.

"He's a good boy, one of the best I've ever had working for me in the cafeteria," reported the director of food services. "He's lazy, doesn't do a thing, causes trouble," retorted a young social science instructor.

"I couldn't see letting all that talent go to waste," answered a kindergarten teacher when asked why she spent so much time with a high school senior girl. "That girl is a wild one," commented another teacher. "She doesn't care; lacks motivation." The girl in question said: "You can't imagine what that work at the kindergarten center has meant for me. I have to be in a total learning environment to function. I was in one once, in Norway, and that's the only place where I've done anything in school."

"He's not the best worker I've had in the station," declared a service station manager, "but he's bright, quicker than most boys I've had in here." He was describing the performance of a Rhetoric IV member, one whom Duane Neet and I often discussed. Duane felt the boy worked as he saw fit, failed to follow directions unless they suited his own goals, and, in general, slacked off in class. I liked the student's writing, thought he was a new type of athlete-scholar for Effingham, and judged him to be a creative person. When asked his opinion of what could be done to develop talented people capable of displaying leadership in areas of social reform, this student responded: "Make people aware of problems. Get them interested in rectifying problems. Everyone is saying, 'Let them do it.' Only you can mobilize yourself."

Undue reliance on evaluating young people's ability in only one setting--the one we call "school"--is certain to perpetuate some of our gravest problems with today's youth. Calls for increased accountability

often reflect desires for more economic efficiency,[21] an efficiency which suggests control: control over pupil behavior, control over school expenses, control over social change. Collective bargaining procedures evoked new interest in economic issues, and a taxpayer's league also was formed in Effingham County last year. It is not too late, though, for Effingham schools--and others--to follow the advice of a national figure in the realm of evaluation.

> . . . In general we have stuck with verbalization and with a form of behavior which represents 'can do' instead of 'does do.' We obtain from our instructions a result which says he can attack problems this way. But does he do it this way outside of the box in which we test him? He <u>can</u> express the attitude in this setting, but does the attitude affect his operations outside the test setting? (italics in original)
>
> We are in a position either of demonstrating that taste, attitudes, and cognitive preference are meaningless in terms of education or of devising ways of locating the lines of change. . .
>
> In the beginning such approaches will lack some of the qualities we like: precision, objectivity, countability. . . . It sounds clinical, yes, but it might beat a current trend. . . merely to buy more subjects for the same test.[22]

<u>Who Needs Me?</u>

The need for better articulation of special programs with the ongoing curriculum is one phase of the problem of talent development.

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[21] A classic text concerning the dominance of economic thinking in debates over public education is Raymond E. Callahan's <u>Education and the Cult of Efficiency</u> (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, Phoenix Books, 1962). The "Prelude" section, pages 1-18, traces the relationship between demands for economic efficiency and the school's vulnerability to outside forces.

[22] Thomas Hastings, "Innovations in Evaluation for Innovations in Curriculum" <u>Curriculum Development and Evaluation in English and Social Studies</u>, Cooperative Research Project No. F-041, Carnegie Institute of Technology, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, May 8-9, 1964, p. 142.

So is the call for creating updated versions of school-community systems of education. Both are parts of an all-inclusive issue often described as manpower supply and demand.

Effingham combines new industrial growth and transportation developments with a widening range of social service institutions featuring a noteworthy medical and health-care complex. Its location adjacent to sizeable recreational facilities and its nearness to facilities of higher education suggest other possibilities for training and employment. But Effingham, in common with all parts of the nation, is discovering that forces operating beyond its normal purview affect the supply of jobs open to older residents, to graduates of its schools, and to those using community institutions as a training base.

Swing Point

It may be that we are at one of the turning points in a nation's history, a time when old beliefs and institutions give way and new avenues of mobility are slow to appear. Certainly the manpower crisis in education in 1971 caused many prospective teachers to scrutinize past beliefs and present actions.

"Nothing! There's nothing at all," said a young man serving as a student teacher in business education and acting as an administrative intern in the central offices of District 40. "And I don't know of anyone who has a solid offer for next year."

"I told my father I didn't want to go to school (university)," Connie remarked during the course of our discussion in the faculty lounge.

> But he begged me to start, so I did. After I was there (in college) two years, I wanted to quit, go to work. 'No, stay, finish with your teaching certificate and then you can go anywhere and get a job,' Dad insisted. So I stayed; now I'm finishing, and the Placement Office says we'll be lucky to get a job anywhere!

The two practice teachers quoted above were more fortunate than most others I interviewed this past year. Both were regarded by Effingham faculty and administration as outstanding prospects and would have been hired immediately if vacancies had occurred. Don obtained a job in business; Connie was hired as a mid-year replacement in another city. Their colleagues were not so lucky.

Not one of the thirty student teachers I interviewed during the three training periods of the year had secured a job at the time we were together. Some did not face a pressing need to acquire one--i.e., from an income point of view because their husbands were gainfully employed in the area. A few were desperate.

"We've borrowed money right along," said Joan, a thirty-year-old mother of two children.

> When I started four years ago we never dreamed for a moment that it would be like this. There's eight of us in business education assigned to this area coordinator, and not one has anything resembling a job offer. I'm sick. I wake up nights worrying about the money we borrowed. And how we're going to pay it back. I wish I knew some way out.

The Widening Circle

Like many women adversely affected by the current labor market, Joan is tied to her husband's assignment. The Charleston-Mattoon area, the home base of Eastern Illinois University, contains an overabundance of prospective teachers because of limited opportunities in the small towns surrounding such regional centers as Mattoon and Effingham.

Unemployment, lack of opportunities, small towns, changes in the agricultural scene, and the military draft form a collection of barriers confronting women job-seekers, ranging from adolescents to mothers in their forties, and men--also including a few in their forties, but with the largest number concentrated in late adolescence.[23] While unemployment, of course, is not a new phenomenon in this part of Illinois, its effects across generations and life-styles are signs of baffling changes. Lack of opportunity for potential instructors is perhaps the most startling factor but other conditions also stand out.

"Yes, I went away for training," Jerry replied. "I took a year of diesel school down in St. Louis, but it don't mean a damn thing. Nobody will hire me because I haven't served my military hitch. So I'm joining up." The proprietor of the gas station where Jerry and I were having a Coke said: "You should watch that kid work on engines. He's got a real feel for them. But he can't stay here, even after he comes out of service. There's nothing in these small towns. Maybe he can work at one of the truck stops in Effingham."

I returned to Mason when Jerry came home on leave. He was on his way to Germany. We met in his home, and his father, a retired mail-carrier, was outspoken. "Well, I'm glad he's going to Germany and not Viet Nam. I served in the Pacific during the war and I can't

[23]"Teen age employment . . . failed to show any significant growth between 1960 and 1970, as young people, lacking skill and work experience, found it increasing difficult to find jobs." Manpower Report of the President, Op. Cit., p. 17.

understand this Viet Nam thing. We ought to get out." Jerry does plan to return to Effingham. "I'm pretty sure I can get on at one of the truck stops," he declared. "There's only one good diesel mechanic in town right now and every truck stop needs at least one."

Jerry's beliefs appear to be well grounded. A new truck stop will be erected while he's gone. At the moment, a shortage of good mechanics not only plagues Effingham but the entire nation. The operator of a chain of service stations, mobile home courts, and a rental service explained why.

> The kids are right. We don't employ them until they've served military time or are clearly exempt. It sounds hard-nosed--maybe it is--but the situation is hurting us, too. Jobs require more and more training. The expense--in time, manpower, and resources--is rising. And then, they don't stay. I can't blame 'em for taking better jobs and moving on, but we can't continue to pour money down the drain in our training operations. What we need is some type of center where the kids can be phased in and out of school, military service, jobs, and the like. I'd help. So would others in my position. We can't go on this way.

"Sure, there's jobs--or at least they say there are," softly uttered the lady whose words could barely be heard above the din of the TV set. "But not for me. Not for the guys and the women like me." It was ten a.m. Her four boys, ranging in age from three to nine, were watching television, preparing breakfast, spilling Kool-Ade, playing with the dog. His barking, the clatter of dishes and silverware, the boys' voices, and the TV fused into a cacophony of sound that seemed to underscore the embittered defeatism reflected in the mother's voice.

> I'm on ADC. I don't have much schooling and very little special training. My mother tries to help, but she's limited too. We need more jobs and chances to get training for new jobs. They

(city officials) point to World Color Press and other new plants. O.K., if there's so many new jobs, why are people like me leaving?

A kindergarten teacher active in Head Start later gave a partial explanation as to why "they're" leaving. "We've got more transient families here than is realized," she stated. "They are usually fatherless families, and the mothers come here to work in the all-night restaurants and truck stops. They move in and out. We see the effects in Head Start and kindergarten, but the impact up the line is not noticeable at the moment."

The Road Ahead

> The core meaning of competence is active. The competent individual is one who can make things work, get things done, think things through; who has an available reservoir of skills, knowledge and experience to meet environmental challenge--operational or intellectual--and bring it to a productive outcome. Recently, as a nation, we have been plagued by doubts as to our competence in these terms--a somewhat new kind of anxiety for a culture that has been identified with high activity, efficiency and productivity. Some of the doubts are aroused competitively in the world scene: Sputnik, a few years ago; more recently, a relatively poor standing on international measures of achievement in mathematics. Other doubts are less circumstantial, reflecting sober awareness of the impact of advancing technology, spiraling social problems and of the magnitude of competent manpower needed to keep our society in a healthy working order.[24]

The comments above were made in 1967. It seems safe to assert that they have taken on increased saliency during the intervening years. Civil rights activity and campus riots have directed attention to "spiraling social problems." Viet Nam and the surge of interest in the environment have spotlighted a need to evaluate the worth of

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[24]Barbara Biber and Patricia Minuchin, "Educating for Individuality: A Re-Examination," a paper prepared for presentation at the American Orthopsychiatric Meeting, March, 1967, p. 1. (mimeo)

technological advances. And a host of problems has been spawned by imbalances in the realm of manpower development. An analysis of student teacher preparation and its interaction with personnel policies in District 40 during 1970-71 provides an excellent means for appraising the interrelationships between individual competence, on the one hand, institutional policies and social constraints on the other. In some ways, certainly, the situation in Effingham was an atypical one; however, the insights it offered contain important generalizations for other community settings.

Uncertain Status

Policy measures affecting student teachers were developed by the superintendent and approved by the District 40 board at the beginning of the school year. The major goal was to give legal protection to these young people by making them temporary employees of the system. In various and sundry ways, teachers and administrators of the district tried to create an atmosphere of welcome for trainees. A special luncheon was staged, for example, where slides of the school district and community were shown, other types of informative data were given out, and a student teacher previously assigned in the system presented his or her version of the picture. Also, incoming students were cautioned against wearing unduly long hair, flamboyant clothes, participation in any "disruptive" affairs,[25] and the like.

[25]At one of the spirited meetings between the board and the ECTA, some student teachers in the audience joined with local teachers in walking out of the session in protest. The superintendent warned Eastern's coordinator of student teaching that such tactics meant those people would have no chance of a job in District 40 because board members would not forget. I believe he was accurate in his judgment, and the appraisal adds another dimension to the problems confronting student teachers.

At the fall session, I watched intently the expressions of a young man with long sideburns to note his reactions to the superintendent's statements regarding the conservatism of the Effingham community and the behavior its schools expected of prospective teachers. Later in the term, when we were discussing this orientation session, I inquired as to the passivity with which he accepted strongly worded dictates. He replied:

> Yes, I was upset. I'd already shaved off my goatee because we were told that lots of hair would make it tough to get practice teaching assignments. Normally, I might have walked out, but there's no place to go--and I need that chance to teach. It's like my roomate says: 'It's a dog eat dog world outside, and you go to college to get some teeth.'

Some of the girls in this same group of aspiring teachers said they were startled to see Mike (the art student) "take it." But Mike echoed Kevin's response. "I was pretty burned up about the presentation," he disclosed, "but you can't throw everything to the wind. Besides, we were warned to expect it."

The boys' judgment was sound. Effingham policy is no different than the guidelines characterizing official statements of other school boards in downstate Illinois. Meanwhile, Effingham and St. Anthony male students displayed moustaches, long hair, and, in company with coeds, a veritable rainbow of colors and an outstanding diversity in their wearing apparel. A few tenured teachers wore beards or long sideburns at various times during the year. And student teachers at the high school level tried to function in this setting. Caught between the liberalism of their campuses and the explosive energies of the students they were trying to teach, bewildered by apparently

dysfunctional remarks heard in the faculty lounge during the period of negotiations, and faced with an ever-tightening job market, student teachers at Effingham High School in 1970-71 needed the kind of training and supervision that their successors should be receiving as soon as possible.

Limited Horizons

All practice teachers assigned to School District 40 in the past year came from Eastern Illinois University. Some lived in town for the period of their assignments; a few lived with parents. Others commuted from Charleston. Most were natives of the region with only two or three notable exceptions. Their career aspirations obviously included higher education, but the former were focused on teaching, and teaching in towns "like Effingham." Though their level of educational attainment exceeded that of their parents, they were not substantially different in terms of expressed geographic mobility. In a very real sense, many had not left home, and--if they could make the choice--would not do so. Typical responses are found below.

A young woman whose parents lived in a smaller town near Effingham said: "If I don't want to teach, I can work for the State of Illinois Department of Children and Family Services. I'd like to stay here or in a city roughly the size of Effingham."

"My parents were somewhat reluctant to send me to college," reported a native of the region. "They didn't think girls needed a college education. My husband and I like this area and will stay if we possibly can. But the future looks dim in terms of job offerings."

A St. Anthony alumnus practice teaching in one of District's 40 grade schools reported that "Effingham is a pretty good town. It's a small community, kind of closed and protected, but I like it."[26] In a series of comments on "Small Schools and Their Special Change Problems," the authors cited limited faculty and administration as contributing factors.[27]

> A faculty is usually limited to one school environment. We might say that small school teachers tend to be 'limited cosmopolites.' They have usually been raised in a community similar to the one in which they are teaching. . . . The limited horizons of the small school teacher mean there is less opportunity for him to be exposed to innovations, which come mostly from the external environment.

It should be noted that this criticism is not confined to evaluation of small schools. The author remembers teaching in a large suburban high school in La Grange, Illinois at a time when visiting consultants stated that an undue proportion of the science faculty had been trained in midwestern instituions. Nevertheless, the student teachers in Effingham were limited in their world view, and economic events transpiring during the year further emphasized the "local" aspects of school systems.

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[26]Mike, the art student, was an exception. He is returning to Ohio for graduate study. This young man gave an excellent presentation of the relationship between art and the senses during an evening workshop for art teachers in the Effingham region. He also received an award as one of the outstanding student teachers at Eastern. I doubt if he chooses to work in public schools and anticipate that he will remain in the relative freedom of university life.

[27]Everett M. Rogers and Lynne Svenning, Changing Small Schools, Educational Resources Information Center, Clearinghouse on Rural Education and Small Schools, New Mexico State University, Las Cruces, New Mexico, p. 12.

By May of 1971 prospective teachers were facing a crisis situation in terms of employment. A climax was reached early in the month in collective bargaining sessions when the ECTA voted "no confidence" in the superintendent, and the board retaliated on his behalf with a note of final warning to teachers. Community perceptions, already affected by contrasting interpretations of economic data, were further shaken by rumors that District 40 policy negated the possibility of hiring local residents, or their sons, daughters, wives, etc., as professional personnel. Fathers at the Elks Club were irate because their daughters were seeking jobs, and, after all, "they were local taxpayers." The ECTA used the allegation as a point to gain backing in the community; besides, the wife of one of their members wanted a position in the schools. Again, Effingham was no exception. "It's the same everywhere," was a common refrain among student teachers. "My home town is caught up in the same bind."

Actually, the situation was duplicated nationally and was an excellent illustration of how vulnerable schools are to local "political" demands which can exert a direct bearing on educational practice. I have always been opposed to the practice of hiring local residents because of strong personal feelings that not only can't you go home again, you shouldn't even try; and my professional experience has confirmed that the presence of numerous hometown teachers in the system adversely affects needed flexibility of decision-making (some teachers become more equal than others) and increases the degree of vulnerability for the system.[28] The chances of producing desirable

[28]For further delineation of the author's comments on this controversey see Yesterday and Today: A Case Study of Educational Change in a Small Town, CIRCE, College of Education, University of Illinois. (This study was done about ten years ago.)

outcomes for students are thereby reduced. Sam Sieber provides an apt description.

> The vulnerability of an organization refers to the extent to which the organization is subject to powerful influences stemming from its environment irrespective of the goals and resources of the organization. A formal definition of vulnerability, therefore, might be: the probability of being subjected to pressures that are incompatible with one's goals without the capacity to resist.[29] (italics in original)

Ann, the militant librarian, and I had strong disagreements on the issue outlined above. Some parents sharply countered my arguments. Their actions were understandable in all cases, even though they left begging a fundamental question: If there are indeed students who need "new people" in their environments to help them develop fully, are they to remain captive to decisions made on behalf of adults who view the school as a purely "local" institution subject to their whims and wishes?

Bridges to the Future

By the close of the 1970-71 school year, student teachers were operating in an atmosphere of confusion and had much cause to doubt not only their competence but the future of their chosen life's work. Tenured faculty groused about negotiations; board members and the central administration were upset by the actions of a few trainees who openly supported the ECTA; pursuit of jobs became increasingly hopeless; but little had been changed in the way of university policies.

Student teaching has consistently functioned in a vacuum of responsibility. Teacher-supervisors are accountable solely to the local district; the campus coordinator deals with numerous students

[29]Sieber, Op. Cit., p. 124.

and frequently uses the position as a step up the hierarchical ladder to a more "respectable" faculty spot. Communities have not visualized their schools as fulfilling a training function for university students, and there are numerous superintendents who agree that processing student teachers isn't worth it, if the practice becomes a negotiated item in master agreements.

A new form of continuing education is surfacing, though, and it may become effective in combatting the "limited horizons" of teachers in small schools as well as seizing control of teacher training from those in higher education and school administration who have historically been in command.

Helen P. Bain, President of NEA, in expressing her pleasure at the Supreme Court decision denying the constitutionality of direct financial aid to church-related schools, remarked: "We are especially gratified in having joined our state affiliates and others as friends of the court on the prevailing side in this landmark case."[30]

As noted previously, the IEA will test Parochaid legislation as soon as the bill is signed by the governor. To date, the NEA and AFT have used organizational ties to strengthen themselves for adversary-conflict situations with boards. The same avenues could be used for many purposes, among them, surely, the development of a strong sense of "professionalism" and a membership of more knowledgeable and qualified teachers.

Changes in working relationships rarely occur without unhappiness, sorrow, and mixed emotions. Nor is the friction in District 40 likely

[30]As cited in the IEA Newsletter, Spring, 1971, p. 2.

to cease in the near future. But significant strides were taken in 1970-71, and not all the same mistakes will be repeated. The ECTA paid a price and it uncovered new sources of talent in its midst. The board and administration paid a price and discovered that schools operate at the apex of a community-state-federal triangle.[31] It behooves all elements of education to work together in an attempt to bring new knowledge and higher standards into the settings where future teachers and administrators are trained.

[31] A publication emphasizing this point in great detail is Change in Rural Appalachia: Implications for Action Programs, ed. by J. D. Photiadis and H. K. Schwarzweller (Philadelphia, Penn.: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1970).

Chapter 7

CREATING ENVIRONMENTS

Social Inventions

Looking back at the War on Poverty, two researchers try to evaluate its impact as a form of social action. "The broad-aim program is a major undertaking," they note, "and the issue is not the simple-minded one of 'Does it work?' but the much more important one of 'When such a program is introduced, what then happens?'"[1]

Action, of course, can occur through channels not identified as parts of a formal program. Likewise, situations which seemingly require the application of needs analysis, short- and long-term planning, adoption of comprehensive policies, and careful implementation of programs may go ignored. How does a community revamp its traditional settings in a period of change thereby providing new opportunities for individual fulfillment and collective stability?

At the moment, our definitions of a "social invention" are poorly developed and we lack adequate procedures for identifying, documenting, and validating new efforts. Concerns expressed above by Weiss and Rein do not apply solely to the realm of social action. The history of in-service training in education, as one illustration, shows an unwarranted reliance on the goal of changing the attitudes or behavior of individuals.

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[1]Weiss and Rein, Op. Cit., p. 140. Virtually the same issue is raised in a new publication by the Brookings Institute. Written by Alice Rivlin, it too, according to a report in the Sept. 10, 1971 edition of the Wall Street Journal, urges that social programs be deliberately designed as experimental efforts to "produce information about what works and what doesn't." (p. 4.)

New strategies are needed that will aid schools and other social institutions, including communities, in producing creative environments, settings that will evoke desirable patterns of behavior.

> Instead of trying to improve people, improve environments. All too often the conclusion is reached that all problems boil down to such people problems as basic attitude differences and personality clashes. And it is believed that work must first be done to change people. But that may not be the best strategy. People, fundamentally, change little in their personalities and attitudes. They can, however, change markedly in their response to different environments, situations, conditions.[2]

In the past decade the courts have served as the main catalysts for changing human environments.[3] Ranging from civil rights movements of the 1960s to contemporary debates on freedom of the press, interpretations of constitutional law have affected us all. There is no denying the continuing critical role of jurisprudence in a democratic society, but there are growing signs that the fields of medicine and health care will join that of judicial proceedings in the 1970s as major levers for boosting the quality of environments. In the Effingham setting, the former pair should serve as strategic points for creating new opportunities. They will be needed--as cited in the preceding chapter--for the process of creating new environments is not an

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[2]Richard E. Farson, "How Could Anything That Feels So Bad Be So Good," Saturday Review, V. 42, No. 36 (Sept. 6, 1969), p. 21.

[3]Complaints that "you can't legislate behavior," so frequently heard in downstate Illinois with respect to race relations, conveniently overlook the presence of black customers in motels, restaurants, etc. Nor has the author forgotten the experience of his first trip to Grambling College in northern Louisiana. As a local professor drove us back to the Holiday Inn, she told of dramatic changes precipitated by civil rights legislation and Supreme Court decisions. "Where you and Bertha are staying," she pointed out, "is close to a site where Negroes were lynched not too long ago. Now we can share these fine facilities."

easy one, and the immediate transitional costs may be very high. If teacher-board negotiations of 1970-71 are an accurate barometer, the task of fashioning an improved educational and social environment in Effingham will be difficult and trying because adults must join with youth in examining two salient issues: (1) the function of schools in modern society; (2) the limitations imposed by a restrictive sociological setting, albeit a generally pleasant one, on its inhabitants, especially the young. And the two areas interrelate, adding other dimensions to their original complexities.

Schools and Sports

Countless words have been written about education's role in an interdependent society, particularly in the last decade. Much of the literature reflects mounting criticism of public schools; its overall vastness defies any attempt to analyze and summarize the material within the confines of this report. Instead, I have chosen to use the link between high schools, varsity athletics, and community relationships as a means of describing both the need for creation of new environments and the barriers confronting such action. This approach is not a new one, but it holds unusual promise for gaining valuable insights into the present educational setting of Effingham, encompassing as it does both public and parochial schools.

The Difference

"High school athletes <u>are</u> different," declared an educational journal in the early 1960s, "they aren't looked upon as other students,

nor can they be treated under the same general rules."[4] (italics in original) An English observer, the late Harold Laski, concurred. In America, he stated, the cult of athletics is almost a kind of religion, although only ". . . a small proportion of the boys or girls in high school actually play the game themselves."[5] Laski's judgment in the early 1940s that an important part of a school's rating in the community is derived from the success of its varsity sports program agrees with more recent findings of domestic observers.[6] But a countryman of Laski's professes that some of the emphasis on sports is admirable and necessary. It helps unite a school (and a community) divided by a lot of barriers, writes Denis Brogan, and it is the activity in which, according to Brogan, racial prejudice has its least influence.[7] The British scholar's appraisal receives strongly worded support from the conclusions of a continuing research seminar on rural youth in Michigan. "Entire school systems would be literally torn asunder," warn the investigators, "if it were not for the cohesive force of athletic activities. It is also a wonderful social way to channel aggressive tendencies."[8]

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[4]"How to Discipline High School Athletes," School Management, V. 7, No. 3 (March, 1963), p. 63.

[5]Harold J. Laski, Reflections on the Revolution of Our Time (N.Y.: The Viking Press, 1943), p. 337.

[6]See, for example, Wilbur Brookover and Others, A Sociology of Education (N.Y.: American Book Co., 1955); and James S. Coleman, The Adolescent Society (N.Y.: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961).

[7]Denis Brogan, American in the Modern World (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1960), p. 72.

[8]Project '80, Op. Cit., p. 17.

Ironically, in Effingham, though varsity athletics plays a dominant part in both high schools, it carries the seeds of potential divisiveness, particularly among the adult population, and the success of local teams in statewide competition is constantly thwarted by teams with black athletes, resulting in further strains on racial understanding.

Local Priorities

"So you're trying to determine local priorities in education," responded a high school teacher busily engaged in registering Effingham students last August. "Well, I'll tell you what they are, they're athletics and band." Though an ardent sportsman himself, as I was to discover later, he voiced an opinion held by many teachers and teaching nuns in the community. Grade school teachers, for example, complain of the "feeder system" supporting varsity sports in the secondary schools. The high school principal tells of his concern that the crowd "almost got out of hand" in a late season game with Shelbyville. Sister Frances Rose remarked, as the basketball season ended: "How nice it is to get that great pressure off the students and players." But observations in the Effingham community reveal the extent of adult support for competitive athletics.

During winter months, huge billboards, placed side by side in several locales throughout the city, carry signs reading:

Go Bulldogs Go
Support St. Anthony Basketball
(A list of supporting merchants and individuals follows)

(and)

Fighting Hearts
Back Effingham High
(A list of supporting merchants and individuals follows)

At the bottom of each sign is the declaration BASKETBALL CAPITAL OF ILLINOIS.

In June, the same spaces refer to Little League Baseball. The cable TV channel has a space designated as "A Tribute to the Athlete of the Week." At least one page, sometimes more, of the Daily News is devoted to sports coverage.[9] The high school football field is names after the coach and athletic director. "Why are some members of Catholic families enrolled in both Effingham High and St. Anthony?" I asked. "Don't you know?" was the rejoinder. "St. Anthony doesn't have a football team. The kids who want to play football come over here."[10] Leaving unasked any questions concerning the purpose of Catholic schools, I moved on. The young coach at Central School, a native of the area, said: "Oh, am I happy! I'd rather beat St. Anthony than win any three games during the year." And the manager of a major farm supply store indirectly explained why athletics is so important, at least in the eyes of self-made men such as himself.

We were sitting alongside one another at a St. Anthony game. During the course of our conversation he attacked the "growing socialism" reflected in attempts to change schools. "It's also running through our society," he continued. "It's almost impossible to fire anybody. In our outfit, though, you have to produce." He saw junior colleges

[9]A recent issue of Phi Delta Kappan noted that "fifty per cent of school news carried in the mass media still deals with athletics, just as it did fifty years ago when Belmont Farley first did a national content analysis." (Phi Delta Kappan, V. 53, No. 1 (Sept., 1971), p. 10.)

[10]Two stars of the undefeated champions of 1970 were from families normally identified with St. Anthony Parish.

as performing a "good job" in education, but expressed reservations about universities and saw their sports programs as "too expensive." High school athletics served a basic need, in his opinion. "We have two tough games next week. That (sic) will test their (the boys') mettle."

Minority Voices

"Our park and recreation program's gone to hell, son," exclaimed an outspoken older member of Effingham's political system.

> I helped plan that park years ago. We used to have a fine program, lots of things for kids, little and big, to do. Then we started hiring coaches to handle summer activities. That did it! Hell, they don't know how to teach little kids. All they know is how to play softball, to choose up sides. That's not recreation.

"We've got a chance to win championships in all major sports this year," remarked an Effingham coach to a former star athlete who had dropped by the office to pick up a ticket for the regional basketball tournament.[11] "Fine," replied the alumnus. "But don't do it at the kids' expense. This school damned near killed me when I was here several years ago. You don't realize what's happening when you're that young. You need protection."

Father McGrath explained last spring:

> I'm concerned about the state of Catholic-Protestant relations right now. The city elections, debates over parochial aid, the prolonged negotiations in District 40, and accusations that our basketball coach is trying to recruit youngsters from Central are all disturbing.[12]

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[11]The football team was undefeated. After losing its first conference game, the basketball team won thirteen straight contests to emerge as conference champs. Baseball and golf teams also were champions, but the track squad, although performing well, finished second.

[12]Central School, grades 6-8, competes with the St. Anthony Grade School basketball team selected from comparable grade levels. St. Anthony High also has a deadly serious rivalry with Teutopolis, one

(footnote continued on next page)

"Say, man, that's adult hang-ups. We don't want St. Anthony to lose. If they can win, okay. The same goes for them; they don't hold any grudges against us. It's the adults who get all shook up about winning and losing." Gary, a football tackle and member of Rhetoric IV, was speaking. Mary, a St. Anthony member, told me later in the year:

> Yes, the sense of competition is not as strong between the two student bodies as it was before dual enrollment picked up steam. I see the differences between myself and my older brothers and sisters; my youngest brother couldn't care less. We sometimes feel guilty about not caring when it's so obvious how adults react, but Effingham High kids are just other kids.

Despite the interest in athletics among adults forty years of age and over, the statements of Mary and Gary, along with responses of their classmates, provided local documentation of a national trend emerging in 1970-71, viz., a growing disenchantment among the young with present systems of interscholastic and college athletics. For example, a Gallup Poll of college campuses reported a decline of interest in varsity sports.[13] And numerous high schools have seen boys drop out of sports because of controversies surrounding hair, their desire to work, or a general reaction against allegedly harsh discipline, mishandling of racial issues, etc. But the biggest threat may reside in financial-legal circles.

Commenting on court rulings that reluctance to sign college athletes to professional contracts unless they have completed at least

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(footnote 12 continued)
of the few public schools in the nation operated by a Catholic order. A senior administrator from the latter school said, "We don't need competitive sports below high school level, the kids aren't ready for them." Effingham administrators concurred.

[13]As noted in Phi Delta Kappan, V. 52, No. 7 (March, 1971), p. 449.

four years of attendance constituted a violation of individual rights under the Fourteenth Amendment, a sports writer declared:[14]

> The four-year rule was a ramp from varsity to the pros. Sometimes, it seemed as if high school, college and pro sports were all one happily integrated system.

Unfortunately, school demands have helped reduce the spirit of healthy competition to a narrow range of channels. Criticism of an undue emphasis on sports often overlooks the pressures of academic competition in secondary schools and general abuses of verbalized goals of competitive athletics such as fair play, sportsmanship, and the like. Responses to these conditions unite urban and rural youth alike.

In Denver, an account of a crisis in secondary schools charged that students view the stress on traditional aspects of education as exacting severe costs in terms of personal development.[15] At approximately the same time, in Effingham, members of the Rhetoric IV class became quite upset over an issue I provoked.

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[14]Robert Lipsyte, "NBA Rule Modification Reflects Money-Grabbing Era in Athletics," as printed in the Champaign-Urbana Courier, June 27, 1971, p. 17. However, there are distinctly different perspectives on the role of athletics as an opportunity for personal advancement. Entertainer Bill Cosby rejected an award from an agency of the City of Philadelphia because of a decision by school officials there to eliminate high school sports for economic reasons. "A great many blacks have achieved success and financial stability by means of athletics," Cosby remarked. "To me, this action by the school board is shutting off the life valve. I'm not sure whether this isn't a further attempt to suppress blacks." (As printed in the Champaign-Urbana Courier, July 9, 1971, p. 5.) On the other hand, the school board president in the same city tells of receiving an average of 150 letters a day, and "endless" phone calls, many obscene, "because we've touched the sacred cow of varsity athletics." (Phi Delta Kappan, Sept., 1971, Op. Cit., p. 10.

[15]Look Magazine, V. 35, No. 5 (March 9, 1971), pp. 20-25; 29.

The previous evening I had witnessed a game involving St. Anthony teams. The junior varsity contest was terribly one-sided. When the varsity came on the floor and began warming up, it was quickly obvious that St. Anthony was trained to accomplish a task. Drills were highly synchronized, rapid, involving muptiple movements and skills, no wasted motion--a truly impressive pregame sequence.[16] At the other end of the court, opposing players moved rather listlessly. The contrast was apparent once the game began. The Bulldogs jumped off to a commanding lead and then continued to pile up the score. The same pattern had appeared in the preliminary contest. At school the next morning, I innocently asked St. Anthony members why "they poured it on so much." Gary and Julie, daughter of Effingham's football coach, exploded with righteous indignation. "Yea, Yea, they always do that. Keller (St. Anthony coach) shows no mercy. What does that prove?" they challenged.

I had to leave as the St. Anthony students began their defense. A few days later, when I next appeared, Duane Neet said I had left him in a mess. The class become quite disturbed, and he had to take stern action to restore order. Reactions by these students marked a clear distinction between viewing sports as games and the engrained habit of using the former as a source of vicarious satisfaction, an outlet for social aggressiveness. A few weeks later, when St. Anthony and Effingham

[16]After the close of the season, I spent several days in succession at St. Anthony High School. When I complimented the basketball players on the drills, they were pleased I had noticed. "That's our coach's idea," they said. "He thinks most teams warm up in a foolish way. They hit a peak, then return to the dressing room where they cool off, and come back on the floor for the start. Instead, we try to have momentum going for us as the game opens."

High met in the regional tournament, the behavior of students in both schools was exemplary. So was the conduct exhibited by players and coaches even though Effingham, the underdog, jumped off to a sizeable lead, only to lose by five points in a contest affected by several questionable decisions against the Hearts. I was very proud of the youth of Effingham that week and said so publicly in my commencement address to the St. Anthony graduating class.[17]

Requirements for Winning

Eight teams played in the Teutopolis regional won by the host team as a result of its defeat of St. Anthony. No black athletes were on the floor at any time. No black adults were in the crowds of roughly twenty-five hundred people that packed the gymnasium Tuesday through Friday night. Teutopolis then lost to Paris in the sectional games--again, black athletes were conspicuous by their absence. Paris proceeded to win the Super-Sectional, advancing to the state tournament undefeated in season play and carrying downstate hopes. The team lost its first game in the quarter-final round to Danville, a team Paris defeated handily during the season. However, Danville had gained the services of an outstanding black athlete at mid-year. He was not the only black member of his team. The ultimate champion, a team from the Chicago area, was dominated by black athletes. Paris last won a state title when its star center was a black youth.

Basketball's popularity still ranks high among adults in rural Illinois. No longer, though, do teams from the southern half of Illinois

[17] I also complimented the "creativity" exhibited in the act of placing a large broken heart on the front lawn of Effingham High School following the game.

win consistently in the state finals. Mt. Vernon and Centralia, strongholds of the '40s and '50s, have Negro residents, and their sons played on outstanding teams. Nevertheless, the lack of widespread Negro settlement downstate has combined with other factors to seriously challenge all realms of school and community vigor.

In an article entitled "Hoopster Hoopla" a Wall Street Journal writer stressed that small town basketball isn't what it used to be.[18] The tide of dominance, he pointed out, has shifted to big cities and metropolitan regions.[19] Using Benton, Illinois as an illustration, the author cited its ties to settings of fifteen or twenty years ago.

> For such small communities, which lack symphonies, museums, art galleries, and sometimes even a movie house, high school basketball was one of the few diversions during the long winter evenings, a rare source of color and excitement and one of the few ways to make a civic reputation.
>
> . . .
>
> They now have television sets and superhighways, so the local high school team has to compete with other entertainments.[20]

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[18]The same trend reverses itself in grade school competition. When Central School traveled to Peoria for the "state play-offs" at that level, not one school north of Interstate No. 80 was represented. Many suburban school systems do not permit interscholastic competition below senior high level. Chicago schools, along with those from many other large cities, do not participate.

[19]His statement was prophetic. Tournament competition in Illinois was split into two divisions effective with the 1971-72 season. Student enrollments of 750 or above will be the cut-off point. Effingham High School is slightly above that mark; St. Anthony is considerably below. St. Anthony's new coach favored the action described above, stating his belief that it made for a more equitable arrangement and would be better for high schools in the long run. Since many rabid fans throughout Illinois, including several in Effingham, opposed the split, local reactions to the incoming coach should be interesting.

[20]Wall Street Journal, March 1, 1971, p. 1.

Benton is a neighbor of Mt. Vernon and Centralia; unlike them, it has never had black residents. Numerous southern Illinois towns have resisted an influx of Negro inhabitants. Five years ago, Benton was favored to win the state championship in basketball. It lost to Galesburg, which was led by a pair of fine guards who were black. The following year, Effingham was undefeated and a state favorite. Again, Galesburg was the first-round opponent; again, the southern representative lost--and black athletes made the difference. "Our boys simply didn't know what to do, didn't know how to react to such speed and quickness," commented a veteran fan in Effingham, adding: "We don't play teams like that during the season." Two years ago, St. Anthony climaxed a "Cinderella" year by becoming the smallest school to be represented in the state tourney. Despite a heroic effort, the Bulldogs lost to La Grange, whose all-state center and guard were both black.

Effingham fans hate to lose. So do those in Benton.[21] This competitive zeal carries over into other arenas. Both towns have suffered through trying periods of teacher negotiations where, as noted before, "winning" loses its traditional significance. Effingham youths also like to win, but when St. Anthony played La Grange students attending its cross-town rival institution wildly cheered every St. Anthony rally. Somehow, varsity sports, winning and losing, teacher militancy,

[21]At midpoint of the 1970-71 season, Benton was undefeated and highly ranked in the state. While drinking coffee with the Effingham coaches one morning, I offered the opinion that Benton was very much overrated, that it wouldn't do well in the statewide playoffs. The coaches thought I was exaggerating, but my opinion was based on the ease with which small black athletes had outrebounded bigger white boys from Benton in a holiday tournament. Benton did not go far in tournament competition.

black athletes, changing modes of transportation and communication all intermingle, as the writer for the Wall Street Journal inferred, to suggest a new day is dawning. It may be an ominous one for Benton, he implies; Effingham has untapped resources.

Basis for Renewal

Inside the Schools

If varsity athletics has dominated attitudes concerning secondary education to the latter's detriment, the same avenue holds the promise of opening up doors to a more promising future. Changes in athletic programs carry weight beyond their own domain in school affairs, and they can influence other developments in community settings.

Jack Klosterman, Effingham's football coach and athletic director, is regarded as an outstanding teacher of boys and men. His assistant coaches move on to positions of responsibility. Parents believe he can bring their sons "into line," shaping them as young men. Administrators and fans, athletes and students, respect his view of sports as games for boys, not as a place where he can engage in personal vendettas with the opposition. Jack is also interested in programs whereby schools and community parks can be jointly planned, constructed, and operated. He believes special arrangements and facilities can and should be established for handicapped students. Comprehensive legislation affecting special education in Illinois reinforces the advisability of such action. Jack is using his influence to urge that high school classes offer more opportunities to less fortunate students.

In the Effingham setting Jack Klosterman is one of the "significant others." He is not the only one, of course. I saw Bill Kirk as another

strong influence among community youth, even though Bill works in a different type of situation. A young ordained minister who chose to serve as a community worker was a third. She has since moved on to another city. All three fit the definition of "significant others."[22]

> The elements of a person's unique environment consist of the information sent to him and emphasized as important for him by other people whose judgment and action he respects. . . . These people are perhaps more precisely called <u>significant others</u>. . . . There are two main types of significant others: definers and models. Definers influence the youngster because they tell him something about himself and his options. The most important of these communicate <u>expectations</u> regarding the youth's performance or attainment. Most youths come to accept the expectations that their significant others have for them. Models provide examples for youth. The most influential significant others are people who are, at the same time, definers with clearly articulated expectations for youth and models who exemplify what they expect. (all italics in original)

Harry Stack Sullivan explored the role of significant others in a 1945 publication.[23] Ten years later, Evanston Township High School seniors were telling this writer of their desire to spend extra time with Mr. Salisbury, not in another class, but just to be with him in the science lab, to "hang around." In 1971, students in Effingham schools spoke of their admiration for a young social science teacher

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[22]Haller, <u>Op. Cit.</u>, p. 15. Field workers in Appalachia also emphasize the importance of effective models.

> The school does too little to supplement the <u>model</u> deficiencies of the youngster coming from a more restricted environment. If the youth is lucky enough to find a viable occupational model or models, he may still be unable to relate the work in his mathematics class to his interest in becoming an auto mechanic or space technician. While the parents of the middle-class youngster may help overcome such problems, other youngsters may be less fortunate. (italics added) (Stanley O. Ikenberry, "Educational Reform in Appalachia: Problems of Relevance, Strategy, and Priority," <u>Change in Rural Appalachia, Op. Cit.</u>, p. 197.)

[23]Harry Stack Sullivan, <u>Conceptions of Modern Psychiatry</u> (Washington, D.C.: The William Allison White Foundation, 1945).

who took problems of the environment, peace, and race as serious and legitimate concerns.

How can schools and communities provide more opportunities for significant others to interact with youth? What can be done to produce more of these people? Who will be capable of serving in the same role for adults caught up in a period of rapid transition? And how?

At the kindergarten level arrangements have been made for tying Effingham's program to a federal project in "Open Education" operating out of the University of Illinois. Local teachers will participate in conferences and workshops; various resource people will be assigned to the Effingham field site, including an individual who will work between campus activities and the Center for a three-year period. A small number of students from the high school have been working as aides in the kindergarten and that base will be enlarged to include girls from St. Anthony and boys from vo-tech classes. Plans are underway for submitting a comprehensive Title III, ESEA, proposal aimed at improving the environment in which residents live and learn. The kindergarten center would serve as a pivotal hub of this project.

Effingham District 40's superintendent, unlike most of his contemporaries, was originally a teacher in special education. Under his direction, the system has broken away from reliance on the regional cooperative and is developing most of its own special education program featured by a cooperative work-training project. Opportunities in vocational education have been enlarged by establishment of a health careers curriculum and a new sequence of courses in auto mechanics. Staff members conducted a survey of regional manpower needs in the

spring of 1971 and its results will guide development of future programs in Effingham's version of career education.

Lack of opportunities in the fine and performing arts reflects long-standing dominance by the band, which has been closely identified with sports in community perceptions of desirable activities. Tentative plans call for operation of a special institute in the arts during the summer of 1972. Teachers, students, and townspeople from Effingham and the surrounding area would participate in art, drama, and music. The latter activity already has a strong internal advocate and, as noted above, is backed by numerous community supporters. Art is steadily gaining strength under the guidance of a determined woman. Dramatic arts faces a tough row and it is unlikely that this field will advance without a major overhaul of the master schedule.

Activities outlined thus far--both actual and contemplated--are suggestive of a readiness to move ahead in program expansion. Attempts to blend parochial and public schools into a community "mix" of education were cited previously. Commendable as these examples of intellectual energy and drive may be, by themselves they do not represent a marked departure in traditional conceptions of schooling. But the town possesses basic ingredients for utilizing formal education as a central coordinating agency to create new settings where learning can take place.

Future Prospects

Effingham houses the regional offices of an organization known as CEFS Economic Opportunity Corporation. Six other counties in addition to Effingham comprise the umbrella-like arrangement. Under CEFS auspices,

a shelter-care center for mentally retarded adults operates inside a converted bowling alley. Basic adult education programs also are supported. A liaison with Lakeland Junior College has resulted in the training of para-professionals qualified to work in hospitals, day care centers, educational institutions, etc. The CEFS is allied with the Mental Health Center where Bill Kirk is employed.

St. Anthony Memorial serves as the foundation for a growing medical complex. The hospital was rebuilt in the early 1950s following a disastrous fire in 1949. Last year it received a Burton-Hill grant to expand facilities. Dotting the streets around the hospital are a number of small clinics and doctors' offices. Three blocks away is a new nursing home constructed by local physicians. A second home for the aged is located to the west.

Because the survey on manpower needs has confirmed locally the national demand for workers in medical- and health-related fields, some form of cooperative enterprise between schools, community action agencies, and the medical sites appears both desirable and essential. Unfortunately, outward appearances are not sufficient. Local schools are still reluctant to combine forces with OEO. Each sees the other as acting in peremptory fashion, and there is some justification for this feeling on both sides. Medicine has a tradition of intense individualism in this country. While religious elements of the hospital are giving ground--e.g., nuns will no longer use hospital property as their residence because of federal requirements--there are few signs that the medical profession views itself as a key ingredient in future educational-training programs. The importance of designing new social inventions also is underscored by more controversial factors.

A few years ago St. Anthony Memorial Hospital accepted a middle-aged black woman from Terre Haute, Indiana for an internship in medical technology. Some townspeople were angered. She was forced to spend the last few months of her residency virtually confined to working and living quarters in the hospital. Perhaps the climate has changed since then. Methodists who are involved in a person to person exchange with inner-city residents from St. Louis are not certain. They detected resentment over the presence of black children in the community for a period of three weeks during the summer of 1970.

"Yes, it's a modern-day Camelot," said Sister Frances Rose. "Effingham is a beautiful community with beautiful children, but their environment is so protective."[24] Many of these same children will go into military service where the poor are overly represented. More than in the past, they will attend institutions of higher education and technical training where blacks and other minority groups can be found. And despite reports that less than half of Effingham's graduating class attends post-secondary classes, industry and business have their own training programs for all types of workers.

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[24]The end results of that protectiveness can be shattering, notes an observer of young military personnel. Commenting on changes among young GIs at Fort Bragg, he writes:

> The thing that came through again and again during the hectic weekend was that these are not only elite soldiers of proud paratrooper units but that they are small-town kids, some of them barely able to raise a moustache, brought up in the langorous innocence which only Americans believe they can afford to preserve well past the teens. But the shock of sudden contact with the army, the war and the world has hit many of them hard. ("GI Movement: A Show to Call Its Own," Washington Post, March 15, 1971, p. B1.)

About 35 percent of Effingham High School graduates attend colleges or universities. (The percentage at St. Anthony is considerably higher.) This statistic is interpreted as commanding a greater need for strong terminal offerings--i.e., the objective of giving students "career" education" based on possession of salable skills. Commendable as this attitude appears at first glance, it is in danger of underestimating the growing evidence that many workers will have to undergo various episodes of training and education following high school graduation even though these activities may not take place inside formal institutions of education. The task confronting schools responding to the challenge outlined here is difficult and complex, for it emphasizes education's dependency on other developments in society.

> Improved general education, though essential, may have only limited effect in helping young people to move into satisfactory jobs unless closer linkages are developed between educational, training, and employing institutions. The importance of progress in this area is evident from the extremely high rates of teen-age unemployment in this country--rates far above those for teen-agers in any other industrialized nation.[25]

The possibilities of bringing 4-H activities, the schools, employment agencies, and industries and businesses together in a community development enterprise appeared very promising to this observer. All participants would receive benefits.

Four-H clubs need a bridge to the future, a way of tying an agricultural history to an urban horizon. At the OSPI public hearings in Springfield, June 29, 1971, Farm Bureau spokesmen and other delegates from rural areas stated their concern for the continued welfare of such

[25]Manpower Report to the President, Op. Cit., p. 100.

groups as Future Farmers of America. "Our last statewide meeting was a gloomy one," reported a school superintendent from a farming district, "even the speakers seemed to have no idea of where F.F.A. can go."

Schools desperately need assistance in creating programs of career education; otherwise, costs will be prohibitive. The range and diversity of 4-H sponsored endeavors is striking, particularly when examined against the background of their links to cooperative extension activities. Referring to Telenet, a network of intercommunication systems linking cooperative extension offices in Illinois, an official commented: "The important and most useful function of Telenet is to give another tool for inservice education."[26]

Inservice education, training, study, all are critical to the maintenance of a skilled working force. Effingham's two major employers, Norge and World Color Press, mirror a fundamental shift in the American economy, i.e., a movement from production of goods to services and knowledge production. This change is a demanding one under the best of circumstances, and a world figure in industry tells of its significance. Speaking in Washington, D.C., Henry Ford II warned:

> . . . There is a possibility--which Americans should be aware of--that we are moving towards becoming a service oriented country, rather than a manufacturing country. (He) said this is not strictly a problem for Ford or the auto industry but rather for the country at large.[27]

A Difficult Equation

As the school year of 1970-71 drew to a close, the last display was readied for the bulletin board in District 40's main office. It read:

[26]Effingham Daily News, Feb. 19, 1971, p. 10.

[27]As carried in the Washington Post, May 14, 1971, p. D12.

Hard Work + Fun = Graduation

Success for Everyone

Not many of the seniors saw it. Even if they had, they would have known better. To quote from a song of the past: "It Ain't Necessarily So." Instead, the message might have stated: "Cooperation, Planning, Flexibility = Increasing Opportunities for Success." Providing rural workers and students with higher levels of education and skill will not resolve unemployment problems unless such opportunities are accompanied by economic development. Effingham residents are interested in their schools; they are extremely active in attempts to expand and enhance their economic base. But the growing interdependence of community elements, and their relationship to external forces, demands more of a "world view."

The future in which Camelot's youthful warriors must wend their respective ways is vastly different from that which faced their parents and grandparents. Young people in Effingham are aware of these changes. They don't necessarily like them--not all the young are flaming liberals--but they acknowledge reality.

Effingham has numerous growth points for maintaining a system of self-renewal. It is blessed with human and material resources essential to confronting life's demands in an uncertain world. In common with other sites--huge and small--Effingham will have to develop social mechanisms for sustaining a vigorous and healthy society. It seems doubtful that such inventions can be created without old and young alike working together in settings more attuned to life now and tomorrow rather than the environments of yesteryear, for the final question of how

well the school in rural and small-town areas can operate professionally and move to improve educational opportunities for community residents seems to rest in large part upon its will to do so.

> . . . It will take a certain amount of sophisticated understanding of the resources available. . . along with a sympathetic understanding of community values and a willingness not to be too abrasive. But change can come. In many cases it would seem that it will come whether wanted or not.[28]

[28]Frieda L. Gehlen, The Political Aspects of Small Town and Rural Schools, Educational Resources Information Center, Clearinghouse on Rural Education and Small Schools, New Mexico State University, Las Cruces, New Mexico, May, 1969, p. 36.

Chapter 8

THE OTHER SIDES OF TRUTH

Learning, Not Measuring

Ted Black, the band director, stopped me in the corridor. "Say, why don't you come to our session with band members during the fourth hour and tell them what you're doing? A couple of girls have asked me: 'Mr. Black, why is that man evaluating us?'"

I agreed with Ted's suggestion, and thanked him, for it was a chance to become involved in one more exchange with Effingham students. But how do you explain to young high school students that you're really not evaluating, at least not in the strict sense of the word? I told them it was important for me to observe, to learn, to be able to use information and their ideas to predict future trends in schools, in community developments. Fortunately, some members of the band were students I had engaged in formal interviews, so they served as credibility checks. While the youthful musicians expressed considerable interest in comments made about environmental issues, my technical explanation suffered in comparison with the one offered below.

> . . . A more effective methodology would be much more descriptive and inductive. . . . It would lean toward the use of field methodology, emphasizing interview and observation, though it would not be restricted to this. But it would be much more concerned with <u>learning</u> than with measuring.[1] (italics added)

Yes, I was trying to learn, although I'm not certain that point was communicated well to the band members. And what was I trying to learn?

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[1]Weiss and Rein, <u>Op. Cit.</u>, p. 142.

And why? Beyond an attempt to look at the problems and possibilities of talent development in a changing vortex of social and economic influences, I wanted to know more about young people, about teachers and parents, administrators and board members, farmers and lawyers, Catholics and Protestants. Countless opportunities were provided me. The night of my original petition to the board, the superintendent declared that "everything would have to be opened up," if permission for the study was granted. Thus, the limitations were basically mine, and some of these will be recounted in the next several pages.

Bob Stake has labeled measurements as "new seeds of doubt." To an extent, my experience in Effingham, especially with the young, both supported and questioned that judgment. However, they heartily confirmed another of Stake's doctrines--viz., that measurements are vital to this world, "not because they tell us what is truth but because they keep the other sides of truth alive."[2]

Indicators

The Young

Commentary of April, 1971 contains an essay on the experiences of a substitute teacher in New York schools.[3] Despite obvious contrasts with the rurality of Effingham, I was struck by the author's description of his exchanges and observations, for they closely paralleled mine. Peter Berlinrut lists himself as a sculptor and free-lance writer; I have

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[2]Stake, Op. Cit., p. 2.

[3]Peter Berlinrut, "Notes of a Substitute Teacher," Commentary, V. 51, No. 4 (April, 1971), pp. 53-62. (Reprinted from Commentary, by permission: Copyright (c) 1971 by the American Jewish Committee.)

spent most of my working years in education with time roughly divided between public schools and universities. Berlinrut's age is in the early thirties; mine in the late forties. Two different settings; two types of filters; nevertheless, much agreement in our judgments.

Berlinrut submits that there was nothing about being in the company of the young that ". . . carried its own automatic fulfillment or revelations."[4] I concur but would suggest that the issue goes deeper. Being in the company of the young is a personal threat for many adults. Berlinrut substituted in high schools. I had not been associated with adolescents for prolonged periods since the early 1960s. While I had observed in numerous elementary schools during the intervening years, along with consultant endeavors in several secondary institutions, it is my belief that high schools now present a set of conditions not found in grade schools or university teaching. A general label for these demands could be "discipline"; but it would be a misleading one because it oversimplifies.

Even the most casual of observations points to the pent-up energies of adolescents. The work of famed scholars in human growth and development and that of colleagues in psychological research confirm what the eye and ear detect. Berlinrut writes of the explosive way in which youngsters come to life after school. And sometimes in school.

> Discipline was often a shambles. It was a far cry from the high schools of my day, and anyone who believes it to be the usual dotard's lament hasn't been in a position to observe the scene.[5]

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[4] Ibid., p. 62.

[5] Ibid., p. 55.

"I've never seen it this bad," spoke Duane Neet during the last week of school in Effingham: "the kids are almost out of control." His opinion was shared by other staff members who had been in the school for several years. In part, we were witnessing the effects on teacher morale and productivity induced by embittered negotiations. And it was late spring, the sun was shining. But certaim elements could not be explained away. Some of District 40's young teachers worked well with students; others found it impossible and lost their jobs as a consequence. Teachers who "make it" with high school students at St. Anthony and Effingham High stand out on one or both of two dimensions. They are so effective in their instructional roles that students become aware of what "teacher" means. Or they are identifiable as being able to do other things--e.g., work as musicians, coach, etc. What appears common to both roles is an ability to communicate to students that one can do something that makes sense in their world--i.e., the ability to render valuable assistance to them as they strive to become better students or stronger individuals. In other words, the "teacher" is perceived as being an authentic person. In deference to that distinction, students will forgive or overlook other weaknesses.

A colleague in CIRCE, judging an urban institute for talented adolescents, cautioned that "beautiful adults cannot satisfy youth in search of competent teachers."[6] A study conducted by the American College Test Program (ACT) confirms the observations noted above and

[6]Terry Denny, "Don't Turn Left at the Alley: An Adverse View of T-City Institute," July 20, 1971, p. 3. (An informal CIRCE memo.)

lends additional meaning to them. "Best teachers" were typified by the characteristics of "demanding" and "caring."[7]

> In addition, they (students in the senior year of high school) liked teachers who enjoy their jobs and what they teach. They also liked teachers who 'maintain their separateness.' When asked if the age of a teacher makes a difference in the effectiveness of teaching, the students replied that the individual counts more than chronological age. The students said discipline is necessary and they see order in the classroom as related to opportunity to learn. 'Worst' teachers were often too easy on discipline.[8]

Given the current confusion about discipline, student rights, due process, and the like, it is not difficult to understand why work with adolescents, far from providing opportunity for self-fulfillment, can become a trying period of doubt, anxiety, and even fear on the part of adults.

In July and August of 1970, I spent several hours on the courthouse lawn with a group of high school and post-secondary youths regarded as hippies. "Aren't you afraid of those kids?" asked an older resident. When I replied to the contrary, she continued: "They might try to hurt you, there's something wrong with them." Maybe she was right. I don't think so, because I believe they were pointing to things that are "wrong" in the world around them. But I can't be certain.

On the southwest corner of the square block encompassing the courthouse is a large bulletin board listing the names of local men serving in Viet Nam. Gold stars indicate that a few have been killed

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[7]As described in Education U.S.A., May 17, 1971, p. 205.

[8]Students in Denver high schools also reported a need for "some" freedom, and a need for "some" structure, "certainly not to be cut loose." (Look Magazine, Op. Cit., p. 29.)

there. In front of the bulletin board is a mock cemetery of crosses. Behind it is a small building used as a "Santa Claus House" during the Christmas season. Nearby there is a cannon obtained by the American Legion. Inside the courthouse Bernadine Dohrn's picture is tacked to the wallboard adjacent to the sheriff's office. She is now one of America's ten most wanted fugitives. Down the hall is the office of the county superintendent of schools. Actually, that's no longer his official title but people ignore the new status; so does he. Issues concerning parochial aid are a serious matter for this office; so is drug education, and there are numerous books and films dealing with the subject. An extension class directed at the same problem was arranged by the county superintendent and local teachers and law officials participated in it.

The courthouse scene reminds an observer of William Faulkner's descriptions of similar settings in the South. They are a link to the past and facing with apprehension the future.

Since August of 1970, the Supreme Court has ruled that the press may publish disclosures of Viet Nam operations; it has also delivered a ruling that seriously jeopardizes public assistance for Catholic schools. In August, one of the young men with whom I rapped on the courthouse lawn was apparently functioning well. Though most of the group, including him, were using marijuana, he was an articulate critic of contemporary life. The following May we met again in a group therapy session to which I had been admitted. The youth in question looked terrible. And he told of his trouble with Speed. "I'm off now," he said. "At least, I hope I am. I've found out it's a lot better to

feel pretty good most of the time than to feel so great one day and so horribly bad the next."

Berlinrut warns--and rightly so, in my opinion--that youth, at best, can be "true visionaries and prophets for an interval of life no longer than a minute, an hour, perhaps a day."[9] Those intervals, though, telescope time, furnish keen insights, and create new doubts. The fall-spring contrast in the verbal and physical behavior of the young addict cited above was almost overwhelming, although it is commonplace to those who work daily with such problems. Is a way of life under attack? A series of beliefs undergoing telling scrutiny? A nation on trial? The drug phenomenon lends itself to such interpretations. Or would these young people have been the cast-offs, the rejects, at every stage of our history? Does a time, a place, a moment belong only to those who will fight for it?

The Schools

In the first administrative session of the 1970-71 school year, the District 40 superintendent was discussing various features of classroom demands. "Our major problem with respect to operation of schools," he remarked to his building principals and directors, "is maintaining discipline." Then, turning to me, he added: "Don't you think so, Dr. Hoke?" I was in a quandary, for the stage had been set for a key response on my part. The use of "Dr. Hoke" had become an indicator of reliance on me as an authority in certain situations; in the conference room and over coffee, it was always "Gordon." Second, I really didn't concur, but momentarily hesitated about openly disagreeing so early in

[9]Berlinrut, Op. Cit., p. 62.

the year and in front of a vital component of the system. However, I had known that--sooner or later--I would have to react negatively in public. "No," I replied, "I don't. It seems to me the major issue is motivation. Control and discipline are parts of it." We briefly touched on points of agreement and moved on. Both of us had understated the task that motivation poses for teachers and schools.

> We are today groping for new and presumably better treatments for a variety of social ills and have enough wealth to correct some of the obvious faults of our society. But. . . we have passed the stage of easy solutions. . . .
>
> Diminishing returns set in: the more we have done in the past, the more difficult it becomes to add new benefits. Partly this is because so much has already been achieved; partly because in the past <u>we have not had to deal so much with individual motivation</u>. Almost everyone has enough motivation to learn to read; it takes a lot more to learn a specialized skill.[10] (italics added)

In his <u>Commentary</u> item, Berlinrut cautioned that "anyone who went to the young without his own vision, his own system of prophetics, went badly and wrongly."[11] I entered the Effingham setting with several beliefs concerning education and life. From my viewpoint, they were confirmed.

First, I am convinced that education is, above all, a personal exchange. I have never consciously underestimated the opportunities that working as a trainer, frequently with boys who were injured, presented to me in my role as a teacher. In Evanston, twenty years ago, the connection with athletics helped establish ties with black students and their families, something my personal life and professional training

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[10]Peter Rossi, "The Study of Man: Evaluating Social Action Programs," <u>Transaction</u>, V. 4, No. 7 (June, 1967), p. 51.

[11]Berlinrut, <u>Op. Cit.</u>, p. 62.

left me ill-equipped to handle. In September of 1970, Jack Klosterman told his team members: "This man used to work for the Rams." You could see in their expressions that perceptions of me had been altered. I possessed some legitimate recognition.

The worst mistake a teacher or administrator can make, in my opinion, is to view students first as students. My biggest errors in judgment and behavior have been precipitated by such responses, for, above all, this perception acts as a barrier to knowing students as people. Two of many incidents last year serve as illustrations.

Early in the fall I became acquainted with a senior boy from Mason. He was a quiet, mild-mannered individual who was attending school but not participating in it. During the year we discussed hunting, fishing, job opportunities, curriculum needs, etc. At one of the board meetings I was unable to attend, his uncle praised my efforts on the boy's behalf. I had not seen them as "efforts" but as exchanges which I enjoyed. I was unaware that he had an uncle on the board.

On another occasion I was acting as a substitute teacher. The class consisted of some of the strongest students in Effingham High, and the topic of discussion centered on change, personality development, and related factors. In an attempt to engage the individuals who were saying very little, I turned to one of the girls and asked: "What do you think about family life today?" Her reply, though softly uttered, was so emphatic and emotional that my instant reaction was to pursue the issue. And then, I hesitated, checked myself: "You don't know this girl. You don't know her family. Don't push it." I didn't.

Later the same day, a teacher at Central School confirmed the validity of my intuitive judgment in not charging ahead.

While teachers can say, and justly so, that functioning as a roving observer in school is a far cry from teaching day in and day out, I found my most frustrating moments arising from failure to know the names of students, to hold pertinent background information about them. Students, of course, usually know very little about the background of their individual teacher even in a small town, and this mutual lack of relevant knowledge is indicative of the poor quality of learning and teaching conditions in schools, especially high schools.[12]

Students in Effingham and St. Anthony high schools, as well as those attending similar institutions in other parts of the nation, participate in four or five classes daily, five times a week. Their instructors usually teach at least five classes a day, five days a week. Curriculum changes come and go, normally in piecemeal fashion, but the master schedule remains intact. Smaller schools, such as St. Anthony, may have more flexibility because of an ability to honor idiosyncratic demands; otherwise, the basic program remains locked. The major topic

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[12]A member of the Educational Testing Service provides an interesting sidelight on this situation. Looking at British schools, Edward Chittenden writes:

> Watching the children relate to each other and to adults I was reminded much more of children I have seen in our rural schools than in our suburban and city schools. This may be partly a function of the size of schools. I suspect, however, that in rural America as in much of England the patterns of social interaction are more codified, the roles of adult and child more clearly defined. On the positive side this may mean that schools can establish good working relationships more readily; on the negative side, these more defined patterns may mean fewer options. ("Notes on Visits to Primary Schools in England," Outlook, Winter, 1971, p. 19.)

here concerns the disposition of students. If they're not in class, where are they? I prefer to view this situation in polarized terms--namely, are schools to serve as centers of custodial care or as centers for human development?

Effingham High has a unique study hall. It's called the Study-torium. Actually, the place is an auditorium with a small stage at the front and some of the world's most uncomfortable seats facing the stage. Adults, including teachers and administrators, complain bitterly about the seats, yet students are "kept" in this room every period of the day, with few learning resources available, and are supposed to study.

On the basement level, seniors have access to their "Rec-Room," a place where they can talk, have a Coke, listen to the jukebox. I liked this room. It was highly utilitarian but pleasant and comfortable. Students had painted murals on the walls. Pictures of former athletes and trophy cases lined the walls. Above all, it was a place where young people could do something--where they had a choice of options, including studies. Most of my interviews with seniors took place there.

Berlinrut describes various methods he used in trying to move students into periods of discussion. He submits: "I found (it) worked better in the morning when minds were fresh and responsive."[13] I taught in public high schools for eight years before facing a last-hour class. Assignments in athletics and departmental responsibilities had freed me from such duties. My experience confirms the sagacity of Berlinrut's observation. Students simply are not the same as they are earlier in

[13]Berlinrut, Op. Cit., p. 58.

the day. Moreover, Wesley Becker, a prominent psychologist and program developer for Project Follow Through, has consistently maintained that "very little happens in elementary schools after one o'clock."[14] Numerous grade school teachers I've encountered share Becker's judgment.

Time, and its relation to physiological and psychological readiness, and learning difficulty, particularly as related to subject area, receive short shrift in developing master schedules. Too many other demands must be accommodated. Seeking proper "matches" between curriculum, instructional methodology, and student needs also is low on the scale of actual priorities.

"Well, I liked the courses in concrete technology," replied David, a senior at Effingham High School. "But they end at the junior year. I'll have to go on to Lakeland if I continue with them." Indeed, why not go on to Lakeland during the senior year? Students in Sterling, Illinois take courses at Rock Valley Junior College while registered in the local high school. "I like the new course in electronics, too," added David. "Some of us have a problem in that class, though. The teacher seems to know a lot about electricity, but all of his examples are related to agriculture, and I don't know that much about farming. Neither do some of the other guys."

The language laboratory suffered considerable damage during the year--a type of in-class vandalism. Periodic observations of this room indicated that students were working very little with the equipment, or with anything else. Their instructor, in her first year, was not

[14]In a conversation with the author.

rehired. Her weaknesses, however, seemed minor when one pondered over the potential of language labs as compared with their actual development and use.

Walter Durost, a noted authority in the field of testing and measurement, particularly with respect to reading, recently said that we are minimizing the capabilities of media serving as a learning by-pass for students who suffer from reading disabilities.[15] Based on my own experiences in the University of Hawaii Lab School, where I saw five- and six-year-olds using various forms of media in astonishing ways, I would agree with Durost. Furthermore, the limited perspectives which current modes of language labs reflect in their development and operation are symbolic of criticism raised by a research scientist and former president of the National School Boards Association. Public schools represent a type of "cottage industry" trying to function in a sophisticated society, Boardman Moore declared, and "lack of a support system for the instructional staff is education's major weakness today."[16] Support systems will have to move beyond reliance on technological innovations, no matter how complex learning labs of the future become. The sources of perplexing instructional-learning problems, which cut across geographic settings, racial and ethnic groupings, and social class divisions, didn't develop overnight and they will not be alleviated

[15]As stated in a presentation at the Conference on "Evaluation and Accountability in the Urban Complex," Memphis, Tennessee, April 25-26, 1971.

[16]In a keynote address at the Mid-Central Forum, American Industrial Arts Association, NASA Lewis Research Center, Cleveland, Ohio, June 7, 1971.

without comprehensive remediation programs consisting of both human and technological elements.[17]

On the first floor of the high school, not far from the principal's office, a middle-aged woman gallantly tried to teach a class in "developmental reading." This euphemism was grossly misleading for, as anyone knows who has ever taught "slow learners" at the secondary level, there are a host of reasons why adolescents are enrolled in special classes. Scarcely a day went by during my visits when this teacher was not complaining to the principal or his assistant about the conduct of students in her room; frequently, I heard her engaged in vociferous exchanges with boys--only a few girls were enrolled in these classes. The teacher resigned this summer and moved away from the community. The boys struggling with reading difficulties will remain: in the school, in the town, in their families, and, ultimately, in their jobs--if they get one. And it is highly predictable that the next "developmental reading" teacher will experience similar troubles.

Planning and programming for students is thwarted by our fondness for clinging to educational cliches: teachers, administrators, and, above all, the students are aware that "individualization of instruction"

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[17]Father Koob, a member of the Carnegie Commission for Nontraditional Education and an official of the National Catholic Education Association, writes:

> One such possibility would be a counseling resource center, something comparable to a Newman Center, but at the junior and senior high school level. It would be a place where the human dimension would predominate, where tutoring, guidance and counseling would be available and where religion would be taught. (As reported in the Illinois Catholic Education Newsletter, January, 1972, p. 3.)

is a cop-out term; yet the first two groups always call for it when making demands on one another. Individualization of learning opportunities may be obtainable--I'm not sure. But there is no chance that teachers alone will be able to deal with cumulative effects of language deficiency which are handicapping so many junior and senior high students.[18] Nevertheless, a by-product of my year in Effingham was an enhanced appreciation of skillful teaching. The act, I submit, is more difficult than when I was in the classrooms of Evanston and Tucson. At its best, though, teaching faces virtually insurmountable problems, some of which are delineated below.

> Pupil malperformance must be viewed as a problem of interaction between the pupil and various aspects of the school setting. Such problems as underachievement, inappropriate classroom conduct, or failure to adjust to the behavioral requirements of the school are not problems that exist only within the pupil. They are interactional problems, influenced by teachers, by administrators, by school policies, and the communication of these policies, by the penalty and reward system of the school, and by other factors. . . .[19]

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[18]The dilemma is spotlighted in the words of an observer of educational problems in Appalachia. The tendency in judging the typical school program, he notes, is to be "overly critical at first."

> Yet, taking into account the needs of a changing society, many of the more traditional educational programs of the school, including reading, and language expression, science, mathematics, and other aspects of the general education program, may be more relevant than ever before. The growth occupations of the future will require increasing competence along such lines and failure to develop these basic skills will spell broader occupational and personal failure regardless of subsequent vocational training or occupational choice. (Ikenberry, Op. Cit., p. 197.)

[19]A rural representative on the District 40 board complained one night about the high school's policy of suspending students for three days following acts of truancy. "I see boys walking around Edgewood, doing nothing, headed for trouble. They don't want to stay in school. You're making it easy for them. There ought to be other ways of dealing with this." His judgment is supported by studies of institutional "press" on students. "Apparently, the chronically truant

(footnote continued on next page)

. . .

> (There is). . . a need for service which intervenes within the system as well as with the pupil.
>
> . . .
>
> Many efforts by social workers, teachers, or counselors are negated by organizational responses. . . . The 'client' label in school settings produces too often highly negative consequences rather than hoped for results.[20]

District 40's superintendent would give a hearty "Amen!" to the closing lines above. He takes a dim view of school social work, primarily because of control emanating from state requirements, which, in his opinion, limit case-worker contacts, create exorbitant demands for completing forms and reports, and, in general, act as barriers to effective use of highly trained personnel. In the same breath, he heaps praise on the system's visiting teacher, who is not faced with adherence to so many guidelines. His response,though forthrightly stated in numerous exchanges, is not an isolated one. Members of special education cooperatives throughout Illinois complain, for example, about the high cost of psychological services, the rigid controls exerted by state offices on utilization of such personnel. Conversely, there is strong criticism of alleged abuses of non-instructional staff by school policies and operational modes.

(footnote 19 continued)
either did not understand the reasons for these environmental demands," report researchers in the South, "or they had not achieved ways of coping with them which were successful or rewarded in the high school they attended." (Edwin L. Herr and Others, "Perspectives on High School Environments," Peabody Journal of Education, October, 1970, p. 59.)

[20]Frank E. Maple, Jr., "The Delivery of Social Services in Elementary and Secondary School," Patterns for Innovative Practice, Op. Cit., pp. 17-18.

> . . . I think it is fair to say that social workers often have been let into school systems in order to keep genuine social work out. Schoolmen are experts in this tactic. Whenever the life that goes on within the social subsystem we call a school is criticized effectively by some other profession, school administrators set-up a rock-bottom minimum program in that area, hire a couple of bona-fide professionals of appropriate pedigree, and pull up the institutional drawbridge as soon as they get these few across the moat.[21]

Both men, the school superintendent and the trainer of social workers, obviously are critical of the behavior of social workers in educational settings. The former sees the condition stemming from actions at the state and professional accreditation levels, where regulations are established. The university professor places the blame directly on the schools. I believe the basic problem is similar to many others we have seen emerge in recent years. On one hand, the involvement of schools as key institutions in the War on Poverty has opened their doors, albeit somewhat reluctantly, to various types of special personnel, yet no comprehensive strategy has been developed for placing these new resources into a working context. Consequently, vital services continue to function as unique features of the school rather than as parts of ongoing programs. On the other hand, critics of the schools are frequently unaware of how much regulation is exerted by state and federal agencies. Realistically, criticism should be aimed beyond the local schools at state departments of education or the myriad bureaus of the federal government.

Logistics

I was amazed at the logistical demands placed on District 40. Problems with insurance, buildings, cafeterias, all appeared overwhelming. But the prime example was busing.

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[21]Warner Bloomberg, Jr., Op. Cit., p. 73.

In 1970-71, I also spent several days working in Waukegan, a much larger city north of Chicago. It too faced staggering transportation difficulties. By the close of the year, I was convinced that few people outside of those charged with administering public schools are familiar with the infra-structure of services undergirding the operation of school systems. It is possible, I now believe, to seek equality of educational opportunity and to knowingly and honestly oppose massive busing as a way of accomplishing that goal.[22]

In some ways, District 40 must deal with atypical transportation problems because of the length of its boundaries, the traffic complexities in the region, and the rugged topography, which, with its hills, small creeks, and narrow roads, makes winter and spring extremely perilous seasons for drivers. Also, the district transports Catholic students, and it picks up pupils closer than the 1½ miles criterion established by the OSPI as a mandated requirement. That standard is the subject of a court suit in northern Illinois, where parents want it lowered. Spokesmen for the IEA have accused boards of misusing funds by violating the current requirement. And District 40's transportation budget went seriously into the red in 1970-71 due to a change

[22]The interrelationships between busing, rural education, and equality of opportunity are also treated at length by a foreign observer. Writing of the problems facing students in the sparsely populated regions of Sweden, a researcher comments:

> The school bus is the rural school children's ruler in quite another way. . . . Thus rural students run the risk of achieving poorer study results on account of this tiredness than they would otherwise have achieved. It may therefore be hypothesized that, everything else being equal, the performance of students who have to travel to school by bus is poorer than it would otherwise have been. (Sixten Marklund, "School Organization, School Location and Student Achievement," International Review of Education, V. 15, No. 3 (1969), p. 300.)

in formula reimbursement at the state level. This bewildering picture is not uncommon to school operations today, and it serves as one more example of education's vulnerability in a time of accelerated social change. Nor is busing likely to lose its controversial standing in the near future.

> Most states specify a limit of 1.5 miles for walking distance, giving no recognition to the fact that it makes a great deal of difference whether the pupil is a six-year-old first grader, a twelve-year-old sixth grader, or a high school senior; or whether the path is along a 60-mile-per-hour busy highway with narrow shoulders or along a dirt road with little or no traffic.[23]

Adults

In the fall of 1970, Illinois State Police raided several places in Effingham and removed slot machines and other gambling devices. Among their targets were the Disabled Veterans Club, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, and the Elks Club. This action spawned an enlightening exchange of opinions in "Letters to the Editor."

> Many Effingham citizens were disgusted and heartsick because there was a raid at the Elks Club, the DAV, and VFW. So, let's really ring it out loud and clear, because gambling is gambling whether it be cards or horseracing or a church bingo game or slot machines.
>
> . . .
>
> So, whoever you are, if you're against one gambling game and not another, you're kinda prejudiced, aren't you? So don't condemn one thing or person unless your backporch has been swept clean and I kinda doubt that it has.
>
> So, let's have a cheer for your so-called draft card burners, and pot smokers, and we'll ring out a dozen cheers for our less harmful slot machines. There's no comparison.

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[23]W. D. McClurkin, "Rural Education in the United States," Educational Resources Information Center Clearinghouse on Rural Education and Small Schools, New Mexico State University, Las Cruces, New Mexico, September, 1970, p. 11.

. . .

> So, why pick on our service clubs who do good in helping people of our community with crutches and wheelchairs.[24]
>
> I believe Americans respect and obey the laws of the land (some of which they may not like). Some veterans are wonderful patriots. Some veterans smoke pot. Some veterans are involved in illegal gambling concessions (as in Effingham).
>
> I admire and respect the first. (The reference to) flag-waving 'patriots' (in a previous letter) obviously referred to citizens who make a public display of patriotism while making a mockery of it in private by defying and defiling the law.
>
> The first gift I bought my grandson was a large American flag. So, don't lecture me on patriotism.[25] (italics in original)

The moral quandary outlined above is not confined solely to disputes over gambling, the need for exemplary models of adult behavior, or even to other implied issues. Discussions about sons and Viet Nams, current and future, arose during the year. They assumed additional significance after the New York Times exposure of the Pentagon Study because a key figure in policy debates proved to be the late John McNaughton, Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, 1964-67, and son of the owner of the Effingham Daily News.

Joseph Kraft paid a glowing tribute to John McNaughton in a column printed in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, July 9, 1971, describing the latter as a "warm and decent person, one of the more humane figures of the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations." Kraft concludes this same article by citing the atmosphere of suspicion surrounding discussions of Viet Nam and its effects: "The deep dishonesty of Vietnam that so

[24] Effingham Daily News, October 12, 1970, p. 4.

[25] Ibid., October 2, 1970, p. 2.

many of us feel in our bones lies not in any particular action or decision but in that awful atmosphere."

"Atmosphere" is a frequently used term these days. In fact, it is suffering from overuse. But there is a "climate of opinion," an "atmosphere," if you will, which was reflected in exchanges with Effingham adults. Its major features were revealed in two distinct types of settings. First, interviews and informal conversations with men and women brought forth a sense of frustration, of anger mixed with genuine interest in trying to understand the social-moral changes in the United States, particularly as they are manifested in youthful behavior. Second, rapid changes in Effingham have created a need for explanations and community understanding which cannot be satisfactorily handled by current forms of dissemination. Technically, the media may be capable of fulfilling the requirements, but there is too much uncertainty, too much dormant suspicion, for their messages to be accepted. Small towns, as Daniel Bell noted in his work appropriately entitled The End of Ideology, have tried to use gossip as a form of social control.[26]

Communication in Effingham, where singular effects locally feed on the residue of suspicion and distrust marking the national scene, was further disjointed in 1970-71 by collective bargaining negotiations between the board and classroom teachers. The ensuing results were a

[26]Bell examines the anti-elitist mood of rural America, and then cites its link to a special type of social control. ". . . The small town character of much of American temper derives its strength from the whispered play of gossip, from regulating conduct through public opinion." (Daniel Bell, The End of Ideology(N.Y.: Calber Books, Inc., 1961), pp. 396-97.)

prime example of Bell's warning that there is no reliability check on gossip and rumor. Once they move into informal channels, it is very difficult for orthodox communication systems to counteract the combinations of truths, half-truths, and deliberate distortions. Part of this difficulty rests in the separation of conventional media from day to day experiences and emotions. As the exchange of "Letters" on pages 194 and 195 denotes, actions of the Law, although a seemingly impartial intervention, are regarded as an unjustified intrusion into the lives of "good folk."

"What you say here, What you hear here, Let it stay here when you leave" is printed next to the exit of the Elks Club. Whatever its original intent, the advice is sound, for the Elks membership holds essential ingredients for inflaming school-community issues. Several high school teachers and the two principals belong; so do young instructors from Central School. Principals of the grade schools are represented. Businessmen from the area are found at the Elks Club, and it has one of the most active fraternal memberships in Effingham.

Included among the teachers are Bob, last year's president of the ECTA, and Dan, his successor. Two other members were on opposite sides of the negotiations table in 1969-70, and the resultant exchanges temporarily severed a personal friendship and a small business partnership of long standing.

For me, the Elks Club was an excellent contact point. It furnished opportunities for correcting perceptions of events and people. I was able to explore more deeply issues which seemed to be of utmost importance. Although I usually went there as the guest of a building principal,

teachers openly debated and discussed the state of negotiations in my presence, sometimes asked for an opinion, and were friendly on all occasions. Parents, especially fathers, were there, and we often talked about the pros and cons of hiring local residents as teachers, the U. of I. football fortunes, impending business and economic developments, and the like.

The manager of the Elks Club was extremely generous and kind. Its members made me feel welcome, and I enjoyed and profited from the hours spent there. To a degree, the Elks Club served as "neutral turf" in 1970-71, and I hope it can remain that way.

Another Perspective

"I'd like for you to drop over to the Grade School some day," said Father McGrath, "and talk to Sister Stephen Ann." His request culminated in a rich series of experiences.

At our first meeting, Sister and I discussed a variety of problems in education, and she asked if I could spend some time observing the school, its classrooms, etc. I indicated my willingness, but suggested that any reports might not be in accord with her opinions. To lend weight to this concern, I told of the disagreement with District 40's superintendent regarding distinctions between "control" and "motivation." "That's interesting," Sister responded with a gentle smile. "I'm inclined to agree with him, but it will be good for the faculty to hear a different viewpoint."

Qualifications

Dennis is a young instructor at St. Anthony Grade School, teaching seventh and eighth grade classes in mathematics and science. He's

interested in William Glasser's ideas on reality therapy and "schools without failure." We were able to spend several moments together, especially in the early morning while nuns were handling religious instruction classes. During one of those interludes Dennis indicated that he held a college degree but was not certified as a teacher. He performed some of the finest teaching acts I saw in 1970-71, and his exchanges with young adolescents were consistently appropriate to the occasion.

For example, he taught two math classes of about thirty to thirty-five students in the same hour, moving from one classroom to another across the hall. Assignments were given, tasks begun, a variety of individual needs met within the limitations of the setting. Dennis possessed a definite style of instruction. He moved with ease from the blackboard to an individual student's desk, and then might resume with a general question and answer series. His directions were firm, clear and crisp. His actions were those of a man on task who expected the same from his students. Both his physical and verbal behavioral patterns communicated to his students that it was important to approach learning with a serious bent. His illustrations were chosen well and fitted both substantive and process demands.

Dennis's performance in the classroom and his obvious commitment to education and life, as evidenced in a variety of settings, raises some critical questions with respect to certification and training. What, indeed, separates apparently qualified instructors from those who are legally certified? If the latter process results in a product of

distinctive characteristics, how do we explain the "Dennises" who work so well with young people, and their certified contemporaries who do not? Or is it basically a problem of selecting suitable people for training?

Test Data

"Something's happening to our students in the intermediate grades," Sister Stephen Ann remarked. "We're starting to lose them after the primary grades. It shows in the test results; and you can sense it by observing the children, by just being around--there's a feeling in the air."

That same feeling haunts high schools, and it was much more evident at Effingham than at St. Anthony High. I'm not certain why, although the sheer increase in numbers at the public school seems to be a determining factor. At least the condition becomes more apparent with numbers, even though both institutions have students who appear to be drifting through time, waiting: waiting for the class to end, for school to dismiss, for the end of the school year, for graduation. High schools remind one of a quotation taken from the works of George Bernard Shaw.

> The first prison I ever saw had inscribed on it 'Cease to Do Evil: Learn to Do Well'; but as the inscription was on the outside, the prisoners could not read it.[27] (italics in original)

Words are on the inside of schools but they still have little meaning, as Shaw infers, because formal education is so terribly abstract.

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[27]As quoted in Donald P. Wilson's My Six Convicts (N.Y.: Rinehart and Co., Inc., 1948), introductory page.

I believe we forget that, those of us who have "succeeded" in classrooms of the past, for verbal and quantitative abstractions were not too difficult for most of us. Not until this year, a year when I spent much time in observations ranging from the kindergarten level to senior classes, has the degree of abstractness left such an impact. Single words, printed excerpts, phrases, religious passages, words from a broad array of sources surround children in St. Anthony Grade School, where pupils are literally encapsulated by abstractions found on the walls of their classrooms and hallways. Most of the children, however, are far less involved in tactile, manipulative explorations than they were in kindergarten; and, barring an isolated exception along the way, schooling will become increasingly more intellectually abstract and physically passive as they move up the grades--for them and their public school counterparts. Nor is this situation the only defeating one.

A recent study by the Educational Testing Service reports a drop-off in student performance at the secondary level when it is judged in light of gains in the early years of schooling.[28]

> The Educational Testing Service recently assembled 186 instances in which comparable tests have been given to large and roughly representative samples of students at two different times over the past two decades.
>
> In all but 10 of the 186 paired comparisons, the later group performed better than the earlier group. On the average an additional eight percent of the students in the more recent group scored higher than the median student in the old group.

[28]Appearing in Toward a Social Report, Department of Health, Education and Welfare (Ann Arbor, Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 1970), p. 67.

> The results that have been described cannot be accepted uncritically; neither can they be casually dismissed. Until better evidence is presented, the tentative judgment must be that American children in the sixties are learning more than their older brothers and sisters learned in the fifties.
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> This collection of test data also suggests that high school students, and perhaps students in the higher grades generally, have not improved as much as students in the lower grades. Typically, the test comparisons for high schools showed a smaller gain in performance than was usual in the elementary grades. In addition, the Preliminary Scholastic Aptitude Test and the American College Test Program, which are given to juniors and seniors in high school, showed no improvement on balance. (italics added)

Television's effects may be reflected in the findings outlined above, according to one interpretation. "(It) may have at the same time significantly raised the intellectual level of younger children, but seldom stretched the minds of high school students."[29] This hypothesis is interesting and worthy of further pursuit. The active involvement of kindergarten children, in town and in the country, with media is a stark contrast with the apathetic reactions of older students in high school. I was particularly struck by the response of rural pupils to ETV programs. For example, they engaged in dialogue with the actors and actresses on the screen and participated in songs, dancing, etc. Their teacher said it was a weekly highlight for them.

Rurality introduces another variable. Speech patterns in southern Illinois tend to produce slurred pronunciations. To illustrate: "our" and "are" frequently sound alike. So do "tire" and "tar." Boys in the second grade were printing a sign: "Please Come to Are Circus." The teacher was too busy with her other groups, especially the "slow readers," to catch the error in that session.

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[29] Ibid.

Disappointing results on standardized tests are common to both District 40 and St. Anthony Parish, particularly at the secondary level. The outcomes may be a result of ineffective instruction or inhibitive learning conditions coupled with regional language patterns. Whatever the sources of the problem, it is unlikely that approaches relying on traditional measures will provide a remedy.

Standardized testing is a costly process for schools. They have difficulty in interpreting the data, and if that task is accomplished, they experience little success in translating results into instructional routines and institutional changes. Part of this gap is created by lack of the support systems cited previously; part is the responsibility of the test publishers, who are unwilling or unable to follow through with, in this writer's opinion, essential services. In the meantime, two other areas stand out as one examines counseling folders of students. First, the phenomenon of cumulative deficiency, especially its reflection of the interdependence between school success and approved social behavior, cannot be denied. Second, while teachers are often drawing fine inferences from available data, their actions may be adversely affecting a particular type of student--namely, the boy or girl whose grades show a high correlation with I.Q. scores and standardized test performance, but whom teachers characterize as: "Could do better." If so, how? Under what circumstances? And why do teachers make such judgments in defiance of I.Q., test scores, and records of previous work? What behavior causes them to make these statements?

Yes, testing is costly. In terms of monetary demands, certainly, but most of all with respect to missed opportunities for using data as a basis for revamping classroom and school settings.[30]

[30]A balanced treatment of the conditions under which students work, especially in high school, is found in "Schools in Trouble," Parents Magazine, V. 46, No. 2 (February, 1971), pp. 57-59; 78.

Chapter 9

TOMORROW'S UNCERTAINTY

Trial and Adjustment

If measurements do indeed create new seeds of doubt, the observer, learning in the process of fulfilling his responsibilities, ponders, and then speculates about the future.

I entered the Effingham scene with a belief that the will of this nation's people would be sorely tested in the first half of the 1970s. The work in Effingham, combined with other events of the past year, has convinced me that I underestimated the depths of the challenge to our society. Also, I began the year holding an opinion that public education was in dire need of reform and renewal. That judgment still prevails, but it has been strengthened, modified, and made more secure by two conclusions derived from this school-community study. First, the vulnerability of the school as a social institution has increased. On one hand, students, teachers, administrators, and parents have entered a period in which new perspectives will influence their thinking about schools, and the pressure to develop new working relationships among educators will affect public attitudes with respect to education. This period of adjustment shows many signs of being a severely trying one, and those individuals who can help schools and communities move quickly through it will be rendering a worthy public service; for, on the other hand, the ties between local schools and state and national strengths and weaknesses are more apparent than a generation ago.

Movement of the rural dispossessed into northern cities has dramatically underscored the relationship between local and regional deficiencies and their influence in a country marked by patterns of internal migration. In Illinois--and the Effingham area is a fine illustration--off-farm migration in a period of tightening job markets coupled with continued pressures on small operators, both factors stemming from forces generated at the highest levels of governmental action and techonological innovation, will create worrisome problems for local institutions.

> Off-farm migration takes place both to rural nonfarm areas and to cities, and simultaneously there are population shifts between rural nonfarm sections and cities. It is estimated that three-fourths of all farm-reared adults no longer live on farms. The tendency of farm residents to work at nonfarm jobs and the corresponding employment of nonfarm residents in agriculture often represent intermediate stages in the process of migration.
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> . . .
>
> It is expected that the number of farms will continue to decline for technological and economic reasons and also because the average age of farm operators is now over 50. With the death or retirement of the large numbers of elderly men who are still holding on to small farms, many of these farms will probably be absorbed into larger units.
>
> While contributing to the drop in farm employment, the growth of large scale farms and the vertical integration of many farms into larger economic units that process and distribute farm products have definite advantages. In particular, large mechanized farms offer the possibility of more stable, better paid employment for a smaller, more skilled work force.[1]

[1] Manpower Report of the President, Op. Cit., p. 115. Other potential changes are reflected in the statement: "The primary way in which you can influence someone is by generating a new alternative for him." (James G. March, "Organizational Factors in Supervision," The Supervisor: Agent for Change in Teaching, The ASCD Eleventh Curriculum Research Institute, ed. by James Raths and Robert R. Leeper, Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, NEA, 1966, p. 123.)

Effingham's obvious growth as a regional center offers the promise of new trends in town-rural cooperation, with the former serving as a bridge to the future. Frequently, rural sectors slump badly and then pull down area towns with them. There are signs that Effingham can help ease the transitional problems suggested above. However, in my opinion, the Manpower Report unduly minimizes the potential for value conflicts inherent in the economic process it describes.

A St. Louis industrialist has developed a huge dairy farming complex south of the city but inside District 40's boundaries. In addition, he is listed as a major stockholder in a new bank that is being formed, and has investments in a shopping center under development. Several of the children attending rural schools are sons and daughters of men working in the "large economic unit," which the dairy complex illustrates. But not everyone is happy with its presence, especially smaller farmers in the area who feel the dairy site is "getting by" with actions for which they would be held strictly accountable; and this resentment will affect the operations of local institutions.

A second modification of my beliefs about the urgency of educational reform came from the students. In Effingham, at least, they were not clamoring for major changes; they were not presenting petitions on a daily basis; there were no threats of strikes or boycotts. One of the most outspoken members of the senior class told the superintendent he should disband the student advisory council because "there wasn't anything important enough to discuss." Of course, many local students endure school--they survive, they make their "separate peace," and they graduate dimly realizing what school might have been. Their real life takes

place outside school, where the cars are. Their amazing resiliency, and the outward stability of the area's socialization patterns, carries most of them through years of enforced passivity in school--that is, with the help of automobiles.

Responding to a theme assignment concerned with "Effingham, 1984," a St. Anthony student wrote:

> . . . I was so close to my alma mater, St. Anthony, I decided to . . . visit. To get to the school, I decided that I would drive the 'main drag' where I had spent most of my time driving around, for there was nothing else to do.

A decade ago, Joseph Lyford found the same situation prevailing in Vandalia, thirty miles away.

> For the most part, the common substitute for something to do is for a gang to pile into a car and drive a traditional circuit in and about town. . . .
>
> 'Where are they going?' one wonders. A young driver might answer, 'Nowhere. But we're underway.'[2]

Another member of Rhetoric IV saw a failure to plan for rapid growth resulting in severe problems by 1984. "In 1971," Calvin noted in his paper, "many people looked forward to living in Effingham during the prosperous future they thought would follow." He then described the changes already underway, and wrote:

> Prosperity has almost always been measured by people in the amount of employment, people, and money that is available in the community. Effingham was no exception. However, this prosperity finally began to hurt Effingham, since the more prosperity that came to Effingham was followed by many people who wanted a part of the prosperity.

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[2] The Talk in Vandalia, Op. Cit., p. 71. Spotchecks by readers of the Effingham Daily News would readily lend credence to a recent item concerning the accident rate among young auto drivers. They are being killed at a pace far out of proportion to their share of the driving population, and the disproportion is increasing, asserts the National Transportation Safety Board. (A statement appearing in the Wall Street Journal, August 31, 1971, p. 1.)

Calvin is not the only person who expressed a sense of anxiety about a region where his farming background lends a feeling of apprehension to his diagnosis of growth patterns. In July, following the close of the study a month earlier, I was having lunch with District 40 administrators at the Holiday Inn. "Say, Mr. Arney," the assistant manager spoke out, "we just had a call from Bristol, England. A man is moving his family here because of a job with World Color Press. That's another family for your schools." As she moved away, Brad Arney commented: "There's hardly a house for rent or sale. People are moving in right and left." And he added, "You know, we'd better start getting serious about adult education. People are going to need help in handling the changes coming here." His remarks were on target, I believe, for the group most prone to anxiety about fundamental change in the schools is the adult sector, including teachers.[3] Knowledge that a child is in second grade with Mrs. Boals or Sister Richard Dean, and she is a splendid teacher whom (I) see every week in the store or at Mass on Sunday, is an important raft of stability in a time of social upheaval. Parents need to feel that children are secure in school.

Teachers have been harrassed from pillar to post by advocates of reform throughout the past decade. My personal conviction focuses on the belief that little lasting change will occur in classrooms unless institutional modifications occur. Much of the work to date reflects

[3]As the brief essay on Denver schools noted, problems in the high schools of this era require ". . . that students be taught the inevitability of change by some of the very people (teachers) for whom change presents the greatest risks." (Look Magazine, Op. Cit., p. 29.)

Jack Frymier's criticism that we are engaging in "major manipulation of relatively minor variables."[4] Concentration on teachers and classrooms without revisions in the total system usually results in greater demands on the instructional process, leaving teachers rightfully skeptical of innovations and innovators. As Robert Chin prophetically noted in 1965:

> Unfortunately, in schools the innovations and changes are very frequently making life more complex, at least temporarily, and the job to be done more complicated for some if not most people. Is it any wonder that new programs meet with resistance or apathy and, even when finally installed, frequently die out after a while?[5]

Legitimate Authority

In recent years I have been plagued by an inability to conceptualize the meaning of "school" in modern society. That is, my work was hampered because of uncertainty about an operational definition of "school" that

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[4]Jack Frymier, "Teachers: Not Will but Can They Change?" SEC Newsletter, V. 2, No. 6 (November, 1968), p. 1. His emphasis on "minor variables" is underscored by the findings of a Gallup Poll of 1966.

> Gallup (1966) asked a national sample of school board trustees to estimate how much difficulty would be entailed in introducing 13 selected practices into their schools. The four practices most often regarded as 'very difficult' were innovations that threatened the values or life styles of the community. . . . The wisdom of (the trustees) is borne out by the fact that these four innovations were precisely those most often comsidered a 'poor idea' by the parents in the same communities as the board members in Gallup's survey. (Sieber, Op. Cit., p. 125.)

[5]Robert Chin, "Change and Human Relations," A Multidisciplinary Focus on Educational Change, BULLETIN OF THE BUREAU OF SCHOOL SERVICE, University of Kentucky College of Education, V. 38, No. 2 (December, 1965), p. 24. Sieber lends additional significance to the caution expressed by Chin. The former writes: "instrumental goals. . . arise from a multitude of adjustments to problems that are confronted by the schools. Since the problems confronted by school personnel and those confronted by the public differ, their instrumental goals will tend to differ." (Op. Cit., p. 132.)

would transcend the sum of its programs. In 1970-71, primarily because of experiences in Effingham, but incorporating other findings, too, I resolved that issue--at least to my personal satisfaction.

A belief that school should represent "home base" for students --i.e., a central spot where they receive guidance and counseling, engage in learning transactions, mainly of a substantive nature, and are assisted in the making of informed choices about <u>other</u> educational opportunities available outside the place called "school"--undergirds the theoretical model guiding my thoughts about education in the future. This approach holds the promise of providing alternatives <u>within</u> formal education and the creation of related experiences beyond the school's purview but linked to it. Like all compromises, it will be unsatisfactory to critics--e.g., Ivan Illich, who urges the "deschooling of society" and the establishment of other types of educational settings.[6] And it will disturb those people who conceive of education in more restricted, formalistic, terms. My definition also assumes that education represents the "social glue" of American life, that it is our single best hope for maintaining a viable, adaptive culture capable of serving as a source of renewal for a pluralistic society in a complex and demanding age. Reformation of the public school system <u>as a system</u> generating opportunities for achievement based on educated choices from among the widest possible range of options, in my judgment, is our best hope for national survival. There is every chance, of course, that I am wrong, dreadfully wrong, because of my own previous conditioning and because effective change may not occur soon enough.

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[6]As reported in a review of <u>Deschooling Society</u> (N.Y.: Harper and Row, 1970), <u>New York Times</u>, June 4, 1971, p. 37.

The "education-generation gap" an observer sees in Effingham has spawned a "legitimacy crisis" throughout the United States. However, student responses, both oral and written, suggested that young people in Effingham are less disturbed about conditions than their contemporaries in other parts of the nation. For example, valedictory addresses at both St. Anthony and Effingham High Schools were of a conservative bent. Kathy spoke of freedom and the joys and sorrows one could have with it. "If life means anything," she declared, "we will approach this freedom to choose with responsible attitudes." Her counterpart in District 40 noted the lasting influences of early life, including school, stating: "This molding of character is not always perfect, but it generally provides a sound basis for the rest of our life's activities." Kathy concluded with a statement that "we can achieve our goals only if we can exercise our freedom in a healthy way." Scott referred to commencement speakers of the past, saying he did not agree "that (we) students are 'at the crossroads of life,' and that we now determine what the rest of our lives consist of." (his italics) Their thoughts were foreshadowed by earlier remarks of a National Honor Society member, who delivered the keynote address in the Spring meeting. "This youth business does not last long," Leslie submitted, adding: "The sole responsibility for any society, and especially a democratic society, cannot rest just upon the youth."

Teachers at Effingham High School reported that the Class of '71 was much less militant than its immediate predecessors, who were "kids that would argue about anything." Interviews and discussions with

seniors and underclassmen revealed great concern about Viet Nam and domestic issues but very little animosity with respect to the type of authority embodied in school. In Effingham, the most obvious crisis of legitimacy was found in the adversary negotiations between teachers and the board and also was evident in adult reactions to political decisions at all levels of government.

It is important, I believe, to consider the possibility that those interested in changing education, including this author, are seriously misjudging a critical dimension of the student-institution relationship. Pupils in Effingham High School enjoy a great deal of freedom. There is no dress code. No one forces them to study. Cars are abundant. Little coercion is used in controlling behavior. Day by day finances seem to be no problem for the vast majority. Conditions at St. Anthony are only slightly more restrictive. In both settings, I was struck by the differences in student freedom as contrasted with my own high school days of another generation, and in view of my teaching experiences in the 1950s and '60s. Berlinrut made the same observation in his essay.

Lack of a sense of purpose, not simply resentment of authority, appears to be a vital, if not central, facet of the problems permeating secondary education. It is suggested by Kathy's statement that, "for many of us, for the first time in our lives, we will be making decisions on our own." Leslie, referring to Father Hesburgh's age and the latter's plea for progress in the arena of civil rights, said: "(His) spoken concern over the possibility of a divided America surely mirrors the concern of much of today's youth over just such a possibility." And

one cannot forget the words of a young out-patient from the psychiatric ward in St. Anthony Memorial Hospital, a place used as a regional emergency center for treating drug victims, who volunteered:

> I don't know why I shoot it (Speed). I've always been nervous and jumpy, but I guess it's the fact that there's nothing to do, just nothing, in these small towns around Effingham. I play the guitar some. I've got a girl. And a car. But there are times when that's not enough--and then it happens. It seems like the only way to escape boredom.

Freedom without responsibility, older Americans are fond of saying, is license. It's also frustrating, purposeless, nonchallenging, and spiritually debilitating. For the students who are not college-bound, who lack long-range goals, who cannot <u>use</u> school as a means to an end they clearly perceive, as in Scott's case and others like him,[7] it means that you drift. You are <u>in</u> school but not <u>of</u> it.

Opening up the schools, reducing the constraints--whether by court orders or voluntarily makes little difference--establishing "new schools," all are actions that beg the issue. It is one type of behavior for me to give more freedom, more individual latitude, to someone; it is quite a different act to give up part of my freedom and to provide ways for someone else to share in the responsibility for decisions that affect us <u>both</u>. Schools and other social institutions have been compelled by social and legal pressures to honor the first stage. They are still woefully lagging at the second level. And I

[7]"Stanley," one of Edgar Friedenberg's "five exemplary boys" in <u>The Vanishing Adolescent</u>, is described in the following manner.

> The school is an instrument he is using for his own purposes. He is ambitious, and aware that he is; he knows where he is going and he is using the school to get there. (<u>The Vanishing Adolescent</u> [Boston: Beacon Press, 1959], p. 110.)

submit that it is nigh impossible to aid students in the task of analyzing and interpreting the mass of information and knowledge with which they are bombarded outside of school--i.e., to render assistance in the important act of clarification of experience--without permitting them a voice in decisions shaping our common futures.

Scott's paper on "Effingham, 1984" describes both the promise and the problems ahead.

> . . . Academically, Effingham High School will become more like today's universities. Students, as freshmen or sophomores, will have to make certain vocational choices and follow a directed curriculum toward that goal. This (action) will follow the current trend of specialization in nearly all fields of employment.
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> . . .
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> . . . The social aspects of Effingham High School will be similar to today's universities. One major change will be the development of an open campus. Students will come to school only when they have classes; therefore, there will be no study halls.
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> . . .
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> . . . Students and teachers will be in a more impersonal level. . . . a higher student-to-teacher ratio and . . . television teaching methods.

Scott's teacher, Duana Neet, had written on the margin his reactions to the prediction of an "open campus and no study halls." "Good idea," Duana noted. But the growth of impersonal relationships also anticipated by Scott prompted the teacher to comment: "I hate to see that happen."

Value Systems

Power and responsibility for decision-making are rarely shared on a voluntary basis. Programs with social goals, no matter their ethical bent, are politically vulnerable. The preceding pages dealt with certain

aspects of institutional vulnerability as they affect schools, but the condition is present in other areas as well.

> . . . The true nature of the ethical problem has dimensions that go beyond these considerations about source of authority. For even if it is stressed that the authority behind such decisions is entirely legitimate, one needs to face the problem that such choices are made with reference to a current value system and that current values need not, of necessity, remain valid in anticipated future situations. And this, despite the fact that they may represent a widely shared, generalized preference.
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> Thus, the ethical problem goes deeper than the simple ability to define one particular outcome--that is, one particular feature--as being more consonant, than another outcome or future, with a generalized current preference. The strong tendency of the present age is to assume that such consonance has <u>legitimizing</u> characteristics, at least for <u>appearing congenial</u> with democratic processes.
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> . . . If we truly visualize futures that are different, we must visualize them, insofar as possible, in terms of value-systems that are also different and, consequently, of institutional patterns that are different. . . . It should be obvious that (I) am not referring here to those valuations of private conduct that define decent relationships and humane concourse between people as a good thing, but rather to the large-scale structural value dimensions that underlie <u>all anticipations</u>.[8] (italics added)

At the beginning of the 1960s, a consultant firm from St. Louis conducted a study of Effingham as part of a long-range planning approach to guide community development. "Everybody laughed at that report, made fun of it, said: 'It'll never happen here!' Now, ten years later, almost every single point has come true," remarked the county superintendent of schools. Population increases fell below estimates of the consultant firm and the hopes of certain civic leaders. Gains in the next few years are likely to go beyond their desires. Can the community handle the impending situation?

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[8]Hasan Ozbekan, "The Idea of a 'Look-Out' Institution," System Development Corporation, Santa Monica, California, April, 1967, pp. 13-14.

A number of surveys and studies are underway as the city enters the 1970s, and this action augurs well for the populace. The ability to pinpoint those areas where help from the outside is needed is important to the continued growth and welfare of an area, particularly when events are occurring so rapidly. Internal adjustments also must take place if advice is to make a difference. There are certain ideas, patterns of behavior, etc., that residents of Effingham will have to carefully evaluate, if they are to utilize the energies released by economic changes with a minimum of local tension. Ironically, urban residents are affected by some of the same myths concerning life in small towns.

Basic Issues

Communication

Years ago, Karl Mannheim, the famed social philosopher, noted that "the basic issues of life are seldom mentioned and never discussed." Yet a lingering bit of American folklore insists that just the opposite is true of small towns. "Everyone knows everyone else, and they're all so friendly" is a common refrain. High school students read Winesburg, Ohio, Sherwood Anderson's tale of grim loneliness in a small town. The same students "kill time" by using cars as a medium of communication. Young drug users tell of their own desperate feelings, admitting to special needs, while youth workers, psychologists, ministers and priests are overwhelmed with requests for personal counseling from both the young and older adults.

Lack of authentic communication quickly became apparent in the course of my observations in Effingham, and its disastrous effects were

evident in District 40's episodes of collective bargaining. Failure to communicate--i.e., inability or unwillingness to view information and knowledge as only preludes to the "ultimate interpretation" embodied in understanding--easily leads to conflict; conflict resolution demands --and tests--reliable communication.

Shortly after January of 1971, when I began to spend more time in the circle of businessmen, it became evident that I was serving as a communications link between individuals and groups in Effingham. This fact emerged, for example, in attempts to launch a day care center as part of a Title III, ESEA, proposal.

OEO officials had conducted a needs survey on the topic in 1969-70. Church groups had established committees to probe the urgency of the need and the feasibility of using their facilities for a proposed program. One of the candidates for mayor, who employed several women in his store, was interested in the issue and, based on comments made to him, believed there was a legitimate need. Kindergarten teachers also working with Head Start were aware of changes in Effingham's population, especially the growing number of women, without husbands and acting as heads of families, who were working in restaurants, truck stops, etc. None of these people knew much of the other's interest or potential involvement in the same area of concern.

We built the early childhood base of the Title III proposal around the theme of "mobilization of resources." Effingham has a large number of human resources and, I believe, a reservoir of untapped talent. Its regional offices of the state and federal governments provide numerous

opportunities to utilize outside sources.[9] Leaders of the community think they know the local scene; but, in my opinion, that scene is changing too rapidly for them to accurately assess. Surveys by professional consultants help, admittedly, but someone has to analyze the information as it relates to the community and display leadership in formulating social policy and programs to implement recommendations. Can political leaders do that in response to shifting conditions when most of their time and energy is devoted to their jobs? The question is not a rhetorical one, for it relates to the broad realm of civic action at the local level: school boards, city councils, county commissioners, and similar bodies. Furthermore, the interface between local, county, state and federal jurisdiction is certain to be tested in this decade by efforts to control pollution of the environment. One manifestation is already apparent in the Effingham region and in many

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[9]Governor Ogilvie's recent announcement concerning the creation of five regional administrative districts in Illinois threatens this base, however, Effingham was placed with twenty-seven southern counties. "All our ties of communication are to the north," moaned Kenny, a building principal and member of the Effingham County Mental Health Board. "This action takes us away from the Zone Center in Decatur and the Adler Center in Champaign." He also told of an attempt by the State Highway Engineering Department to move its regional nucleus of engineers from Effingham to Mt. Vernon. "We would have lost over a hundred jobs, a large chunk of our most skilled and educated people, if that had gone through," Kenny said.

The Mental Health Board is protesting the executive order, but its members are now aware of a rule-of-thumb that holds great significance for all service agencies.

> The educator who is concerned with talent development, but who at the same time divorces himself from political problems of the economy is fooling himself, I think, and misleading the people he seeks to educate and train. (Brendan Sexton, "Educational Options and Life Chances," A paper presented to the Talent Colloquium, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, May 14, 1970.) (reprint, p. 4)

other sectors of Illinois--namely, concerted opposition to countywide zoning. Its critics rely on entrenched beliefs in local control, on a neo-Populist resistance to "special interests," in their campaigns. The same type of reaction has been traditionally identified with opposition to school mergers.

The message is clear, I believe. On one hand, the small town tendency to utilize gossip and rumor as a form of social control has always been a poor substitute for knowing the facts. It is doubly dangerous in a setting such as Effingham's. Attempts to cope with change, to balance economic growth and social costs, will require development and implementation of various forms of "social engineering." Unless stronger efforts are made to inform citizens, to know who new residents are and what they're thinking and feeling, the crisis of legitimacy of authority is bound to intensify. The caution expressed below is a wise one.

Analyzing the demands created by Follow Through for new forms of school-community cooperation, a research scholar in the field of early childhood education suggests guidelines for appraising the decision-making process.[10]

> The roles of the organizations. . . would be examined to determine the extent to which various organizations participated in the decision to accept a Follow Through program and in the decision to select the particular programs which were adopted in several areas: instructional, social service, psychological services, health services, and community participation. It would be of particular importance to obtain information about the formation of any group which was created to serve the program or the school

[10]Robert D. Hess, "Informal Memorandum re: Follow Through," Washington, D.C., March 18, 1968, p. 2.

> in connection with the program. . . . Included in this part of the study would be an attempt to discover whether the persons presumably involved in the decision to accept Follow Through and to adopt a particular program did, indeed, understand sufficiently the issues involved to make a meaningful decision. (all italics in original)

The recommendation outlined above becomes more urgent when examined against the statement on "Policy Making for American Public Schools."[11] "Schools are not islands," warns the select committee. Increasingly the success of formal education is dependent upon non-school factors, the statement continues. Therefore, local school authorities should "become active participants in local and regional boards and commissions concerned with efforts to improve the human condition generally." And a conference dealing with the problems of regional development also declared: "The future of education may well depend on the ability of school systems to cooperate with each other, with governmental agencies, and with related organizations."[12]

Communication in community settings thus becomes an exercise in continuing education, an education broadly conceived. It might look at the precedents established by England's use of Neighborhood Information Centers, as one illustration; and its planners, especially in education, should examine carefully the consequences of current modes which feature comprehensive efforts only at times of crisis or when seeking funds. Above all, a sound program of community communication would not mistake lack of verbal facility for ignorance.

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[11]National Academy of Education, Policy Making for American Public Schools: Recommendations based upon Working Papers prepared by the Committee on Educational Policy of the National Academy of Education, Committee on Education and Labor, House of Representatives, March, 1969, p. 11.

[12]Education, U.S.A., October 19, 1970, p. 5.

> I don't know why I should be so agog about a fact older than the hills, that literacy and intelligence don't necessarily walk abreast, step in step. But I am. Why? What's happened to me? I surely knew this at one time, but I suppose over the years I have slipped into a habit of assuming intelligence is so linked with the printed word that to see first hand that they're not so necessarily, shakes me up a bit.[13]

Needs and Goals

The passage above was prompted by Peter Berlinrut's experiences in the inner-city schools of New York. In turn, I was impressed time and again by how much students and adults knew; but constraints imposed by the settings in which they function are likewise powerful.

An unfortunate connotation of "school" is the assumption that only the young are to be taught. The fact that youth knows a great deal which, at first glance, has little relevance for his life in school ignores the possibility that it may have considerable value for learning. All of us who work with young people, especially those serving as teachers, need a larger repertoire of skills--e.g., the ability to use a variety of "teaching leads"--and a greater willingness to listen.

Late in the school year, I was asked to teach an English class for a teacher involved in a local workshop. Members of the class were giving book reports. The reports were terrible. And I so noted. But the students could move out from the abortive reports to discussions related to their books, particularly if one could use life around them as a base point. This type of behavior was evident in the halls, in the Rec-Room, in classes, in the taping of musical shows for "The Place." Students <u>are</u> knowledgeable. They <u>are</u> learning. Many of them are not performing well in the classroom

[13]Berlinrut, <u>Op. Cit.</u>, p. 59.

because of stereotyped and limited avenues for learning and for revealing what they've learned. It is not so much that they see what they are asked to learn as irrelevant, but the ways in which they are asked to learn and to demonstrate acquisition and retention of that knowledge are frequently a hindrance. I finished the year believing that teacher training is seriously deficient in providing instructors with knowledge of the social context in which schools and young people operate, that teaching leads need to be related more closely to life around the pupil--farms, changes in agriculture and technology, community development--and that students, as Berlinrut notes, can be extremely bright and perceptive without being highly verbal.

The culture of a school, even one with an all-white student body in a rural site, is composed of different levels of reference, of varying rule-guides and a complex array of procedures. Both teachers and pupils must function inside that context. Or, at least, most of them try.

"A teacher is helpless without a full understanding of the unseen cultural impediments that every child brings into the classroom," states a noted educational philosopher.[14] While one might take issue with the implications of "helpless," observations in Effingham definitely suggest that teachers, young and old, are lacking important elements of knowledge concerning the forces influencing their charges. The result is a distorted view of students as people, a factor cited by a scholar in the realm of early childhood education.[15]

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[14]Harry S. Broudy, "Needed: A Unifying Theory of Education," Curriculum Change: Direction and Process (Washington, D.C.: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, NEA, 1966), p. 24.

[15]Lillian G. Katz, "Teaching the Young Child: Goals for Illinois,"
(footnote continued on next page)

> Another aspect of high quality programs seems to me to be the difference between knowing a child and knowing about a child. In order to mean anything to a child in terms of his growth and development we need to know him, but in fact we are much better at knowing about him. You can know about children by collecting data on them. We know their ages, the number of immunizations, their weight, a good deal about their families, and their scores on tests. Teachers often tell me all sorts of facts about a child; about the fact that his father is gone, or perhaps that his mother is working, and so forth. But they often do not know the child himself. (italics in original)

Knowing about students is readily accommodated by the American penchant for relying on tests and measurements. Tests give us a picture of what students apparently need to learn; our classroom evaluations and observations provide further leads as to what pupils seemingly need in order to pass, or graduate, or to make it in the outside world. Seldom, though, do we obtain from him a clear picture of his goals, his perceptions of his strengths and weaknesses. Differences in perceptions about students as held by teachers, parents, peers, and the student himself are accounted for in Jerome Bruner's commentary below.[16]

> On the whole, then, selectivity (of response) reflects the nature of the person's mode of striving for goals rather than the amount of need which he seems to be undergoing.
>
> . . .
>
> In conclusion, perceptual readiness reflects the dual requirements of coping with an environment--directedness with respect to goals

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(footnote 15 continued)
A Presentation to the First Annual Conference of the Illinois Association for the Education of Young Children, May 15, 1971, ERIC Clearinghouse on Early Childhood Education, University of Illinois, p. 4. (reprint)

[16]Jerome Bruner, "Social Psychology and Perception," The Self--in Growth, Teaching, and Learning; ed. by Don E. Hamachek (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1965), pp. 126-127; 132. A Title III, ESEA, project in Arlington Heights, Illinois concluded that classroom instructors were the last of three groups: parents, clinicians, and teachers--to recognize changes in emotionally disturbed children. A program for gifted students in Waukegan also reported that marked changes noted by parents in their child's behavior at home and in the neighborhood were not acknowledged by teachers.

> and efficiency with respect to the means by which the goals can be attained. . . . To understand the manner in which man responds to and copes with his social environment we must know what that environment is <u>to him</u>. (italics in original)

A building principal in Effingham remarked:

> You know, my nephew is having trouble in school, grave difficulties with reading. But, oh, how he knows cars! We've been having trouble with ours, and the garage couldn't fix it. The other night, as I was leaving his home, he walked me to my car. He listened as I tried to start it, and he spotted three things wrong with it in less than a minute.

An industrial arts instructor in Indianapolis, Indiana reports that he uses casette tapes in his classes. "I tape a variety of motor sounds, some functioning well; others with different kinds of problems. Students listen to them, diagnose what's wrong, defend their reasons. You'd be surprised at how well these boys work."

No, I wouldn't. Approximately ten years ago an extremely unhappy transfer student, forced to move in her senior year, was placed in one of my classes at Lyons Township High School, La Grange, Illinois. Late in the year, she wrote:

> As I see it, school is school wherever you go, and one does not like it or dislike it because of the tag labeled to it.
>
> I believe there is one thing that has influenced my opinion more than anything else. This is when I discovered I had the ability to do some of the things which were asked of me. From that time on, I was confident in myself and school meant something to me.

In the summer of 1970, a young woman moved to Effingham. Had she remained in her original school, Bonnie would have been class valedictorian. After an early struggle, which is described below, she emerged with recognition as salutatorian and outstanding writer of the Effingham Senior Class of 1971. She had written in September:

> No one really knows what moving into a new town is like until he has experienced it himself. For several weeks I felt completely lost. I knew only a few people who were usually friends of my parents or older sister.
>
> . . .
>
> Although I was kept busy, I felt that I lacked something very important. This something was interaction with people my own age.
>
> One afternoon I was so delighted; Julie came to my house. We conversed for two or three hours. She told me about Effingham and its people. We compared school systems and accepted standards of both Effingham and Sparta. Julie's visit gave me a lift I'll never forget.

Expanding opportunities for people to learn and live is an essential and admirable act. Certainly the call for such action lies at the heart of current demands for alternatives to public education, and the same type of reform effort was embodied in the British Labour Party's comprehensive programs of educational and social reform following World War II.[17] The magnitude and scope of England's post-war reform movement seem to have escaped many erstwhile critics in the United States, who apparently believe that rhetoric alone will accomplish the task. In addition, programs of change dare not overlook the fact that activities directed at the education of young children have spill-over effects into the larger society.

Changing Perspectives

Many of the older people whom I met in Effingham were quite defensive about their lack of formal schooling. At least two problems are inherent in such behavior. One is the narrow range between passive defensiveness and overt hostility. Second is the tendency to underrate authentic capabilities.

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[17] Learning to Live: Labour's Policy for Education (London, England: The Labour Party, Transport House, 1958).

In the early fall of 1970, I traveled south of Effingham to Edgewood, where a board member of District 40 operates a gas station. His younger brother was there that day and we struck up a conversation. For almost two hours I marveled at: (1) how much this man knew; (2) the amount of time and energy he devoted to youth, civic, and church groups; (3) the variety of leadership responsibilities he was honoring; (4) how concerned he was about a lack of formal education. "I quit school," he said; "joined the Navy, eventually got a GED diploma, but I know now that quitting was a mistake." Some observers might see his current record as overcompensation. I chose to regard it as the actions of a very talented man, for whom the Navy and foreign travel acted as "school." However, it's doubtful if he ever has accepted my honest recognition of his abilities even though we've had two or three encounters since September.

Young or old, we need to be viewed <u>first</u> as we are and not as parts of the setting in which we try to function. Failure to respond to this charge triggers serious misperceptions on both sides of the teacher's desk. Its effects were noted previously in comments that the board members misjudged new strengths among teachers. Three additional events also pointed to future trends.

In mid-winter, employment slowed down appreciably at local industrial plants. District 40 also had an opening develop about the same time for a janitor. The combination of events resulted in a relatively large number of applications. One of them was submitted by a young man who was also a union member. During his interview the applicant was told that status as a union member would affect his chances for the

job because "the school district does not regard union patterns as desirable for its employees." He did not back-off from his stand. "I believe in unions," the young man declared, "and if it hurts me, that's the way it'll have to be." He didn't get the job, but he did surprise Brad by the firmness of his convictions.

Stronger employee organizations are coming to downstate Illinois. Whether they arrive as local unions, or as outside influences embodied in the Teamsters driving through Effingham, or as classroom teachers organizations, they are growing, and Effingham is certain to become a focal point of activity. The bond between political action, pressure groups, and growing specialization of task is at the heart of this development. It is possible, of course, to abuse historical analogies and to generalize too widely from one incident. But the actions of the ECTA, whose basic strength rests in a nucleus of middle-aged women, and the response of youthful blue-collar workingmen would suggest that the current economic slowdown will reinforce organizational ties already in existence and speed up activities in other areas, as was demonstrated so vividly in the 1930s. Again, Effingham will be much involved because of changes in agricultural processes and the area's general movement toward industry and services.

Part of the study in Effingham included a Continuing Research Seminar supported by the University of Illinois College of Education. It embraced university students, faculty, and administrators from the campus and members of the OSPI. One of our sessions occurred in Effingham. The group met with members of the Rhetoric IV class, toured the area,

visited the kindergarten center. A luncheon had been arranged, and representatives of Effingham schools--parochial and public: students, faculty, administration--plus members of the business, professional, and laboring community were invited.

I had felt some anxiety about the session because of a belief that our campus seminar members would sorely test Effingham adults' conservatism about dress and hair styles. On this occasion, though, seminar members outdid themselves. Dress was more bizarre than usual, and Effingham administrators were miffed about the appearance of certain individuals. I agreed that their apparel could be regarded as disconcerting but suggested "that's the way it is on campus and that's where the kids (in Rhetoric IV) are going." Then I proposed the idea that, if complaints arose from the day at school or from the luncheon to follow, I would be happy to make an open presentation on campus life, fielding questions, etc. Officials took me at my word and a session was arranged. Unfortunately, an emergency assignment forced me to cancel that appearance; but, so far as we could discover, no complaints were voiced.

Arrangements had been made for a brief period of social exchange prior to the luncheon. This gambit was promoted by the Ramada manager, and her advice was priceless. Participants were given an opportunity to exchange ideas before eating together. Two of our seminar members were law students--a black with a beard and a white with long hair. The latter is also the son of a county farm advisor in an area not far from Effingham. Each of the participants, about sixty in number, had received

information concerning other invitees before the session. However, the Effingham lawyers present were confronted with the fact that rural boys could become campus militants; black youths could master demands of the legal profession; and a girl from a small Catholic high school in Chicago could wear denim trousers with a big leather belt to ostensibly formal occasions. At the same time, college students discovered that "conservatives" were bright and articulate. That Catholic doctors could oppose abortion and also champion reforms in care for the aged because abuses in both realms were a denial of the sacredness of life.

Other facets of the luncheon meeting could be treated, such as the chance for students to meet across age gaps and for teachers, administrators, and students to interact in a different setting, but it is sufficient to note that it was a good day: a needed reminder that trust in the judgment of people is not misplaced when they are given an opportunity to learn, to understand.

"I didn't realize there were still towns around like Effingham," Clencie, the black law student, remarked as we left on the return trip to campus. He's not the only person who feels that way, although the basis for perspectives differs. A public service advertisement in the Daily News special Fall issue denotes local pride.[18] It read:

[18]Effingham Daily News, August 7, 1970, p. 12. Attempts to build on the sense of pride reflected in the illustration above are heard in "Operation: Build America," sponsored by the National Federation of Independent Business. On July 10, 1971, one of their broadcasts on the CBS network pointed to "clean air, quiet serenity, the gentle calmness, the opportunities in rural America." The narrator added: "You could help bring people back to the country: Write us."

The Effingham Area Has Old Fashioned and Modern Day

COUNTRY CHARM

[scenic home sketch]

> It's people. People with pride, individual enterprise and the proper attitude for change. Yes . . . the Effingham area is a blending of the old and the new that we like to call 'Country Charm.'

The increased number of young couples--ages 22-30--returning to Effingham lends credence to reports of an emerging national trend of movement to the smaller towns and cities of America. Census Bureau reports in Wisconsin, for example, detected a slight preference for rural counties, and a personnel recruiter assigned to scour the nation for talented young men willing to locate in northern Wisconsin foresees new families seeking less populated areas, and businesses following for economic and political reasons.[19] The Wall Street Journal describes a classic example of the interrelationship between political acts, economic developments, and social change.

> Growing evidence suggests that the migration (to the city) has stopped and perhaps reversed. With new highways and the clean air of the countryside beckoning, more urbanites are moving to smaller towns and commuting to jobs in the cities. Many others are building weekend and vacation homes in rural areas.
>
> . . .
>
> Whatever the motive, the rural electrics appear to be uniquely equipped to become catalysts for a turnaround in rural America.

[19] Milwaukee Journal, April 11, 1971, p. 1. And a spokesman for the telephone industry looks at the growth of independent phone companies, exclaiming: "Corporations and just plain people are rediscovering the rural areas of this great country. This is where industry is moving and that is where we, by the grace of the Lord and state commissioners, have a franchise to operate." (These lines of hyperbole appeared in the Chicago Sun-Times, June 8, 1971, p. 58.)

> 'The Co-Ops, usually the largest single business organizations in their communities, have a corporate citizen interest in this whole matter,' says Robert D. Partridge, general manager of the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association. 'Many millions of future Americans,' he adds, 'are going to have to have jobs and live in what are now rural areas. The cities can't absorb them, and the co-ops need these additional consumers to offset their loss of farm consumers.'[20]

Effingham is affected by all the factors cited above. In May, I met with ten young couples who have returned to the area in recent years. Four of the pairings are composed of mates born and raised in the region. Five partners in the other marriages also are natives. Their reactions supported the conclusions contained in the news article, but these young adults were not without criticism.

> 'Yes, it's a good town. Certainly has a future and offers the good life if you're willing to make some trade-offs. Lakeland (the junior college) helps, but we'll need more opportunities to make it here no matter how comfortable it is. We're caught between young and old, there's no formal places of entertainment and recreation for us.'

The Effingham community, and its surrounding regional area, needs these young couples--and a continual stream like them. A study released by the National Academy of Sciences documents their importance to the general welfare of a region.[21] It also underscores the importance of providing myriad settings for talent development.

> A key requirement in the attainment of social and economic objectives for a given region lies in the development of human capabilities and talents, and the attraction or retention of the most gifted and innovative segment of the population.

. . .

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[20] The Wall Street Journal, May 28, 1971, p. 24.

[21] The Impact of Science and Technology on Regional Economic Development, National Academy of Sciences and National Academy of Engineering (Washington, D.C.: National Academy of Sciences, 1970), pp. v, 23, 45, and 46.

> Whether or not a given community includes scientists and development engineers, it must contain a significant professional labor force. In order to attract or retain talented professionals, the region must provide an inviting cultural environment as well as a pleasant physical environment.
>
> . . .
>
> In no small measure, the regional problems of rural America and of the city centers are associated with the failure of local and regional educational policies and institutions to keep pace with national economic and technological development.
>
> . . .
>
> Whereas many service functions such as banking, insurance, communication, and travel have been radically affected by the incorporation of modern technology, educational institutions have, for the most part, been slow to incorporate changes, in the form of either technological, administrative, or instructional modifications.

Without question, the challenge posed by the findings described above is singularly present in Effingham, for its commercial and service areas have been radically affected by the "incorporation of modern technology."[22]

Whether or not local and regional policies of education and social welfare can keep abreast of changing conditions is part of a dual dilemma confronting Effingham, the State of Illinois, and the United States. It is illustrated in the fact that people don't vote on technological change, and the impending movement away from an emphasis on production of goods to a knowledge- and services-oriented society is certain to have drastic effects on the country's manpower training and development policies

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[22]About half the young men present on the evening of the discussions cited on page 233 are working in commercial service institutions. The other half, plus several wives, are employed in education. Will the adversary techniques of teachers organizations "radicalize" young male teachers? Will their female counterparts affect their husbands' beliefs and opinions despite the latter's more conservative employment setting?

and practices. Because of industry's current struggles with pollution problems, the change might occur quicker than anticipated. Furthermore, the approach to talent development as presented by the National Academy of Sciences unduly minimizes the importance of widening the base of opportunities, perhaps the Jeffersonian-Jacksonian debate cloaked in modern garb.[23] Lacking a wide appeal, it is doubtful that fiscal support can be obtained locally for programs stressing the necessity of creating maximum avenues for "professional" advancement.

The juxtaposition of two pervasive strands in our nation's history carries grave implications for talent development. In an excellent essay entitled "New Value Conflicts in American Education," Edgar Friedenberg writes of a comprehensive high school where counselors

> have more occasion to serve as agents of an authentic talent search, encouraging promising youngsters with limited social and economic resources to recognize and develop their talents and showing them how to go about it.[24]

Later, he accuses: "The 'talent search' is not usually concerned with discovering individuals so uniquely gifted that their ultimate contribution could not have been made by another." Friedenberg's claim that research by others supports his conclusion that creativity or genius of this form is not adequately honored in public schools is valid.

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[23]Coincidentally, Ralph Nader's Center for Responsive Law has announced plans to study how well the National Academy of Sciences serves the public interest. Nader charged: ". . . the Academy, through its role as an official advisor to the government, is in a position to exert great influence over public affairs. . . (with) little or no responsibility to answer to the public for how that power is used." (As cited in The Evening Star, Washington, D.C., May 12, 1971, p. C-5.)

[24]Edgar Z. Friedenberg, "New Value Conflicts in American Education," The School Review, V. 74, No. 1 (Spring, 1966), pp. 88, 92.

Responding to either of his challenges, let alone both, will require more diagnosis, program choice and development, better teaching, and greater institutional flexibility than high schools are offering. Or, perhaps, more freedom than American society can tolerate in its educational institutions. Nor does the problem end there.

A leading economist asserts: "Only the least talented, least motivated, and most handicapped fail to go to high school."[25] Regardless of the basis for his comment, the judgment leaves begging questions about those who fail to complete high school. The accomplishments of such persons as the late Malcolm X, Caesar Chavez, and a host of other less well-known figures raises haunting doubts. So does the current drop-out picture, the drug scene, suicide rate, and high incidence of mental illness among adolescents.

New Directions

Calls for people with social skills and personal strengths necessary for "helping us with social problems" were frequently heard during the course of this study. Leslie's address contained a line stating: "One major problem in American Life today seems to be the preoccupation with considering the differences between age groups"; later she concluded: "Let us forget our differences and rejoice in our similarities." Kathy looked at the interdependence of freedom, life, and the basis for choice, associating all three with moral commitments to the larger society. Scott saw the behavior of older brothers and sisters serving as "models

[25]Fritz Malchup, Education and Economic Growth (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1970), p. 44.

for our actions." But what types of institutional changes must be made? How can the Effingham setting respond to the charge for creating an environment that will literally help bring people together?

Ed Howard, manager of WCRA radio station, outlined one possibility. "No, this town doesn't need a Youth Center," he said. "We need something like a local adaptation of urban YMCAs--a place where young and old, male and female, families and individuals, can use the facilities." A year later, and weighed against the background of authority furnished by the report of the National Academy of Sciences, his remarks appear even more insightful. A multi-purpose Community Center suitable for continuing education-recreation-and-cultural pursuits (all broadly conceived, developed, and implemented) could be an ideal site for introducing new ideas into the area and for complementing other assets, particularly schools, churches, and the medical complex.

Recent history shows that limited-function institutions are short-lived. Sullivan's disastrous experience with a swimming pool-recreation center is well known to Effingham residents. Schools everywhere, like those in Effingham, reflect a variety of mistakes inherent in limited perspectives of human and institutional development. Plans for redesigning the downtown shopping sector also must deal with a host of problems, given the hazardous combination of rail and auto traffic. But Daniel Burnham's warning of years ago stands out as a reliable beacon to guide future activities: "Make no small plans."

As a closing note, the observer must return to the schools, and especially to the high school. Perhaps it is appropriate that Dan, the young math teacher, is to serve as the ECTA's president in 1971-72.

School District 40 is heading into the second stage of a transitional period which lacks defined boundaries and whose eventual outcome cannot be fairly judged at this time. But last year's troubles, I believe, were a valid indicator of a highly probable future, a future that would be uniquely pertinent to secondary schools and adolescence, and one representing a logical--if not penultimate--result of events already underway in Effingham and in other communities across the land.

> Schools as organizations have been trying to minimize conflict. At this point in our history, communal and societal forces are generating more and increasingly pressing issues and stresses for schools. Schools can no longer afford to be 'happy ships.' Indeed, we need 'exciting ships'--full of new stresses, conflicts, challenges, and competition; resounding with new ideas and new programs, more battlefields won and lost, compromised and accommodated, publications, protests, and aspirations of people, all of them growing and caring, for themselves, their colleagues, and above all for their students.[26]

Robert Chin, a leading theoretician in the field of institutional change, made the statements recorded above in the mid-1960s. Ensuing events confirmed his observation that societal forces would create greater burdens on the schools. However, there is little to indicate that schools have accepted the challenge to plan deliberately for the apparent inevitability of conflict. Nor, in all fairness, do we see many signs that communities view the implications of Chin's remarks as relevant for <u>their</u> educational institutions. But the issues are here. And they are likely to move away from the school into other arenas--other settings--of public debates and political activity. Liddell Hart's judgment that Grecian history reveals the strong tendency of democracies

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[26]Chin, <u>Op. Cit.</u>, pp. 26-27.

to move readily from rational discussion of common issues to passionate outbreaks of violence and enduring struggles could be regarded as an ominous warning to Americans.[27] We are moving into a period of conflict and tension concerning priorities, goals, and the age-old battle of means-ends relationships.

The tools of conflict resolution: negotiation, bargaining, compromise, conciliation, creative integration, organization of coalitions, individual and mass persuasion, command and regulation, evaluation and control--can be taught in the schools--to youthful students in the day and to adults in the evening, if need be; and their wide dissemination throughout a community setting would be a noble public service. Such action would represent a fitting epitaph for Brad's "Family," for it is better to emerge as part of a new Phoenix than to simply fade away.

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[27]Sir Basil Liddell Hart, "The Illusion of Victory," Harper's Magazine, V. 234, No. 1456 (September, 1971), pp. 20-21.

Postscript: September, 1971

The work which served as the basis for preceding chapters is to continue, although the focus will shift. Our intent is to test the viability of a belief that local school districts, given access to appropriate human and material resources, can productively engage in developmental efforts. We also are committed to an attempt to fashion a genuine and credible partnership between District 40, the Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, and the federal government.

Summer months of 1971 have witnessed an intensification of the major issues cited in Goodbye to Yesterday. Events also further underscored the pace of change.

President Nixon's new economic policy apparently gave additional strength to the automobile industry; and Ralph Nader was joined by other critics in attacking the American Automobile Association for its alleged ties to the "Freeway Lobby."

Parochaid legislation in Illinois will be rewritten in October as a result of Supreme Court actions. But again, the President fanned new life into cold ashes in his remarks directed to the Knights of Columbus annual convention. In Chicago, Catholic educators pointed to a continued decline in the ranks of teaching orders and declared that lay Catholics would have to assume greater responsibilities in the operation of parish schools. Sacred Heart and St. Anthony parishes in Effingham have received the same message.

Negotiations between the ECTA and the school board are relatively stable despite uncertainties spawned by economic changes; however,

numerous other school districts are still at impasse or caught up in strikes and litigation as the 1971-72 school year opens.

Business and industrial growth continues to impress observers. The new shopping center will soon open and the addition to the Ramada is nearing completion. Traffic problems have not eased, although the city's main street (Jefferson) is now one-way, and there is no answer in sight. Efforts will be made to improve airport facilities this year. World Color Press recently announced plans to double its size.

It appears that busing--its costs, demands, and central role--will become a major point of trouble for many rural districts in 1971-72. However, the controversies will be more subdued than those reflected in sectional and national debates over busing and its ties to desegregation.

Bill Kirk, the clinical psychologist, has left for graduate study. He believes the members of his group therapy session for drug users may be able to use the "self-help" principle. Some have moved on, though.

Members of Rhetoric IV are preparing to leave for their respective campuses. The first to depart was Kathy, St. Anthony's valedictorian. She will attend Rosary College, formerly an all-girls Catholic institution in River Forest, Illinois. It now has 800 girls and 50 boys. Scott, her counterpart at the public high school, and several others, will shortly arrive at the University of Illinois, where 35,000 students attend. Perhaps this contrast of choices is indicative of Effingham's--and the nation's--potential. There is strength in diversity; it allows for the birth and rebirth of new institutional forms to match the needs of a changing society, whether these needs are psychological, economic,

or spiritual. Yet all societies crave order, and education can be an effective medium for asserting order. How to reward diversity? How to preserve order?

In August of 1970 the theme for the huge Fall issue of the Effingham Daily News was "Challenges of the '70s." A year later the masthead emphasized "A Time for Initiative." An observer seeking to provoke thought might draw upon an analogy from the realm of sports, to wit: If one is playing the wrong game, it matters little how well one plays it.

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